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PHILIP D. CURTIN is Herbert Baxter Adams Professor at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. He has published extensively in African, Caribbean, and world history. His most recent publication is *Cross Cultural Trade in World History* (1984). The present essay is a by-product of a longstanding, if occasional, interest in African historical epidemiology and in European medical thought about Africa.

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THOMAS L. HASKELL is a professor of history at Rice University, where he has taught since leaving graduate school at

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Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility, Part 2

THOMAS L. HASKELL

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HAVING SET FORTH THE LIMITATIONS of the social control thesis and explored the implications of the case of the starving stranger, we can now proceed to the third and final stage of the argument, a brief sketch—no more—of an alternative way to formulate the relationship between capitalism and the origins of the humanitarian sensibility. As the reader will recall, the thesis to be maintained here is that the crucial links between capitalism and humanitarianism stem not from the rise of the bourgeoisie per se but from its most characteristic institution, the market, and they are bonds created not by class interest but by the subtle isomorphisms and homologies that arise from a cognitive style common to economic affairs, judgments of moral responsibility, and much else.

This is not to deny that some effects of the attack on slavery furthered bourgeois interests. The consequences of the antislavery movement that Davis called “hegemonic” are real enough, but we have not been given any adequate reason to think they were produced by class interest, by a desire for hegemony, or by any other form of intention, conscious or unconscious. They belong mainly to the category of unintended consequences. “Hegemonic” exaggerates their purposefulness, and the term “self-deception” is not capable of clarifying their status.

None of these conclusions require us to give up the most important contribution of Marxian historiography: the suggestion that the humanitarian impulse emerged when and where it did because of its kinship with those social and economic changes that we customarily denominate as “the rise of capitalism.” The task now is to specify the nature and extent of that kinship.

One could argue in the spirit of Norbert Elias that the kinship is very strong indeed, that the practices we label “capitalistic” and the acts we identify as “humanitarian” are simply different manifestations of a single cultural complex, or “form of life.” Elias’s brilliant account of the shifting “thresholds of embarrassment” and “standards of affective control” that have regulated manners during European man’s long ascent up the ladder of the “civilizing process” provides

immensely suggestive insights into the present subject.¹ One cannot help being amused by Elias's description of the gradual elaboration of rules and taboos affecting the polite way to spit, expel gas, blow one's nose, defecate, and lift morsels of food into one's mouth. But the boundaries between polite and impolite, permissible and impermissible, that operate in these comparatively trivial matters are not unlike the conventions that determine whether knowledge of a starving stranger will produce only passive sympathy or a flood of emotion and expressive action. Indeed, Elias devoted a chapter to the shift of boundaries that made brutality, one of the uncomplicated "pleasures of life" in the medieval period, deeply horrifying (though still titillating) to more modern sensibilities.² Incongruous though the thought may seem, the boundaries we observe today between good and bad manners could prove to be seamlessly interwoven both with the "capitalist" conventions that authorize the individual to adopt a comparatively high level of aggressiveness in economic affairs and with the "humanitarian" conventions that inhibit us from taking pleasure in (or even remaining indifferent to) the agony of others. Perhaps, as Elias said, "The question why men's behavior and emotions change is really the same as the question why their forms of life change."³

Although the explanatory approach recommended here converges with that of Elias, it is less holistic and more concerned with identifying specific mechanisms of change. It does not treat capitalism and humanitarianism as two expressions of a single form of life but does argue that the emergence of a market-oriented form of life gave rise to new habits of causal attribution that set the stage for humanitarianism. Before proceeding with the development of this form of explanation, however, we must pause to consider a possibility at the opposite end of the spectrum from Elias's holism—the possibility that there is no kinship at all between capitalism and humanitarianism. The idea that humanitarianism arose from or depended in any way on the marketplace, with its notoriously lax ethical standards, will seem perversely counterintuitive to many readers, and for good reason. The face of the market that we all know best, regardless of our political preferences, is the grim visage that warns "Caveat emptor!" Buyer beware! How, the skeptic may ask, can an institution that explicitly foreshortens or confines within narrow, formal limits the responsibility of each person for his fellow man be said to have extended anyone's sense of moral responsibility? That the market has faces other than this most familiar one is the principal argumentative burden of the following pages. Let us begin, however, by conceding the full force of the classical indictment.

Consider the rules of the marketplace as they were embodied in the Anglo-American law of contract at its zenith in the nineteenth century. The rules assume that everyone will put his own interests first and withhold even customary or neighborly levels of concern for everyone else. The seller charges what the market will bear, not what the buyer can afford to pay. In negotiating a contract, the parties deal at what the law calls "arm's length," each relying on his own skill and

¹ Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York, 1978).

² *Ibid.*, chap. 10.

³ *Ibid.*, 205.

judgment, neither owing any fiduciary duties to the other. As they maneuver for advantage and work out the terms on which their carefully limited cooperation will proceed, the parties are neither obliged to volunteer relevant information nor entitled to expect others to do so. The deal is sealed by agreement. Differences of bargaining power, mistakes, pressures of time, ignorance of pertinent facts, subjective intentions are all beside the point, for these pressures are deemed to be a normal part of life in the marketplace. Unless the voluntariness of the agreement can be undercut by demonstrating force, threat, or fraud, each party can be compelled by law to carry out its part of the bargain, no matter how unjust the agreed-upon exchange of goods and services may appear to be.⁴ In all of this there is undeniably a license for callousness, for the implicit assumption is that the individual is not only the sole proper judge of his own needs and interests but also their sole proper guarantor.

The most rigorous students of the market in its early years, the political economists, by no means conceded that it was exclusively a force for moral indifference, but both friends and foes of capitalism often read into technical analyses of wage and price movements a very simple message: since the laws of supply and demand automatically transmute each individual's self-interest into the greater good of the greater number, no one need be concerned with the public interest. Once this lesson with its time bomb of antitraditional implications was incorporated into common sense, the very possibility of moral obligation was put in doubt; the burden of proof henceforth rested on those who wished to deny that "everything is permitted." If we couple this familiar line of argument with the rich nineteenth-century folklore about avaricious landlords and piratical factory owners, and then add to that combination the metahistorical imagery of a class of me-first bourgeois individualists displacing a feudal aristocracy still enmeshed in a traditional web of clientage and patronage relations, we will indeed scarcely see how the coming of capitalism could have expanded the conventional boundaries of moral responsibility. And yet it did.

After nearly two centuries of criticism of market society, it is easy to forget how brutal life could be before the profit motive ruled supreme and how moderate, in the long perspective of human history, the capitalist's license for aggression really is. The paternalist code that required the lord to care for his dependents provided no basis whatsoever for systematically going out of one's way to aid strangers, and, even in the eighteenth century, Elias's "civilizing process" had made so little headway that most people could, like their medieval ancestors, still ignore a cry of "Help! Help!" without any feeling of distress.⁵ As for the fabled greed of the

⁴ P. S. Atiyah, *The Rise and Fall of Freedom of Contract* (London, 1979), 402–04.

⁵ The minstrel Bertran de Born sang joyfully of hearing the cry "Help! Help!" and seeing "the dead pierced by the wood of the lances decked with banners." As late as the sixteenth century the king and queen of France celebrated Midsummer Day in Paris by joining a festive throng to burn alive one or two dozen cats; Elias, *Civilizing Process*, 193, 203. The gruesome agonies inflicted on the regicide Damiens in 1757 supply the opening scene for Michel Foucault's work; Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York, 1977), 3–6. Trial by ordeal was not abolished until the Fourth Lateran Council met in 1215, and the use of judicial torture as a means of eliciting confessions in cases of serious crime continued on the Continent (though seldom in England) from the thirteenth century until the last half of the eighteenth.

capitalist, one can only say again what has been said so many times: although plentiful in the marketplace, greed is not the distinguishing feature of the capitalist. As Max Weber put it:

The impulse to acquisition, pursuit of gain, of money, of the greatest possible amount of money, has in itself nothing to do with capitalism. This impulse exists and has existed among waiters, physicians, coachmen, artists, prostitutes, dishonest officials, soldiers, nobles, crusaders, gamblers, and beggars. One may say that it has been common to all sorts and conditions of men at all times and in all countries of the earth, wherever the objective possibility of it is or has been given. It should be taught in the kindergarten of cultural history that this naive idea of capitalism must be given up once and for all. Unlimited greed for gain is not in the least identical with capitalism, and is still less its spirit. Capitalism *may* even be identical with the restraint, or at least a rational tempering, of this irrational impulse.⁶

The capitalist marketplace is a scene of perpetual struggle, and its tendency to inject calculations of least cost into every sphere of life can, indeed, stunt the human spirit. But contrary to romantic folklore, the marketplace is not a Hobbesian war of all against all. Many holds are barred. Success ordinarily requires not only pugnacity and shrewdness but also restraint.

THE MARKET PRESENTS ANOTHER FACE—perhaps equally unsmiling but suggesting quite different conclusions—as soon as we think of it as the abolitionists and their generation often did: as an agency of social discipline or of education and character modification. Adam Smith's "invisible hand" was, after all, not merely an economic mechanism but also a sweeping new mode of social discipline that displaced older, more overt forms of control precisely because of its welcome impersonality and the efficiency with which it allocated goods and resources. The spread of competitive relationships not only channeled behavior directly, encouraging people through shifting wage and price levels to engage in some activities and disengage from others, but also provided an immensely powerful educational force, capable of reaching into the depths of personal psychology. The market altered character by heaping tangible rewards on people who displayed a certain calculating, moderately assertive style of conduct, while humbling others whose manner was more unbuttoned or who pitched their affairs at a level of aggressiveness either higher or lower than the prevailing standard.

The autonomous power of the market to shape character is often underestimated because of the stress Weber and more recent scholars have placed on the reverse of this phenomenon: the inability of the market to flourish where it lacks an ample supply of self-disciplined individuals, already made alert to the promptings of the invisible hand by inward-turning, self-monitoring habits like

In Central Europe it lingered on even into the nineteenth century. See John H. Langbein, *Torture and the Law of Proof: Europe and England in the Ancien Régime* (Chicago, 1977).

⁶ Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York, 1958), 17; E. P. Thompson, "The Transforming Power of the Cross," in *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1966); Bernard Semmel, *The Methodist Revolution* (New York, 1973); and Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, N.Y., 1815–1837* (New York, 1978).

those taught by the Protestant sects. But on this point Weber was explicit: capitalism in Europe needed the personality-transforming power and sweeping recruitment capacity of religion only in order to breach the walls of traditionalism and gain a dominant position. Once the market has a secure foothold, said Weber, it no longer needs the support of religious doctrine because it independently “educates and selects the economic subjects it needs through a process of economic survival of the fittest.”⁷ Weber recognized an obvious and nonvicious circularity in the relationship between institutions and individual character: the institution of the market could not sustain itself without large numbers of “economic men,” and, in turn, the proportion of these men to the population and the esteem in which they were held depended largely on the framework of opportunity and affirmation that the market established.

The form of life that the market both presupposed and encouraged is, of course, too complex to be adequately described in this essay, but at the expense of some oversimplification one can think of the process in terms of two “lessons” taught (and simultaneously presupposed) by the market. The lessons were closely interwoven: the first taught people to keep their promises; the second taught them to attend to the remote consequences of their actions. Those who learned these lessons well and who could take for granted the existence of many others imbued with the same lessons were the first to cross the threshold into a new moral universe, one in which the horizons of causal perception were sufficiently wide, and the techniques routinely employed in everyday tasks sufficiently complex and future oriented, that failing to go to the aid of a suffering stranger might become an unconscionable act.⁸

Consider first the lesson of promise keeping. In the long history of human morality there is no landmark more significant than the appearance of the man who can be trusted to keep his promises. The norm of promise keeping (observed often in the breach, as all norms are) is so basic to the form of life that prevails today that we take it for granted, forgetting how recently it came into being and at what cost, in terms of instinctual renunciation, this stage of the “civilizing process” was attained. Ironically, it was Friedrich Nietzsche—whom no one will accuse of being a friend of capitalism (or, for that matter, of humanitarianism or anything else requiring instinctual renunciation)—who gave the most eloquent testimony to the importance of this historical moment. He began the second essay of *The Genealogy of Morals* with these words: “To breed an animal *with the right to make promises*—is this not the paradoxical task that nature has set itself in the case of man? Is it not the real problem regarding man?” Keeping promises can only occur to a human animal who has developed the capacity to remember what he once willed, and memory, argued Nietzsche, is diametrically opposed to animal good health.

⁷ Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, 55. For the history of the expectation, widespread from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, that capitalism would bring political harmony by taming the passions and infusing a wholesome discipline into the population, see Albert O. Hirschman, *The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism before Its Triumph* (Princeton, N.J., 1977).

⁸ On my use of the term “techniques” and the preconditions for the appearance of the humanitarian sensibility, see the “case of the starving stranger” in my “Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility, Part 1,” *AHR*, 90 (1985): 354–59.

Forgetfulness, he contended (in passages strongly suggestive of Freud on repression), is "a form of *robust* health," without which man can experience "no happiness, no cheerfulness, no hope, no pride, no *present*."⁹

That, in spite of this, man has to a great extent become an animal with the right to make promises seemed to Nietzsche a "remarkable" achievement, a "tremendous labor" of self-overcoming, in view of the strength of the forces opposing such a development. Promise keeping requires

a desire for the continuance of something desired once, a real *memory of the will*: so that between the original "I will," "I shall do this" and the actual discharge of the will, its *act*, a world of strange new things, circumstances, even acts of will may be interposed without breaking this long chain of will. But how many things this presupposes! To ordain the future in advance in this way, man must first have learned to distinguish necessary events from chance ones, to think causally, to see and anticipate distant eventualities as if they belonged to the present, to decide with certainty what is the goal and what [are] the means to it, and in general be able to calculate and compute. Man himself must first of all have become *calculable, regular, necessary*, even in his own image of himself, if he is to be able to stand security for *his own future*, which is what one who promises does!¹⁰

Contemptuous though he was of asceticism, "bad conscience," and all the other signs of "morbid softening and moralization through which the animal 'man' finally learns to be ashamed of all his instincts," Nietzsche's attitude toward this basic phase of renunciation was decidedly respectful. In fact, the "ripest fruit" of this tremendous cultural process is what he called the "sovereign individual," who, precisely because he has earned the right to make promises, cannot help but be aware of his "mastery over circumstances, over nature, and over all more short-willed and unreliable creatures."¹¹

The proud awareness of the extraordinary privilege of *responsibility*, the consciousness of this rare freedom, this power over oneself and over fate, has in his case penetrated to the profoundest depths and become instinct, the dominating instinct. What will he call this dominating instinct, supposing he feels the need to give it a name? The answer is beyond doubt: this sovereign man calls it his *conscience*.¹²

Set aside for a moment the surprising resemblance between the abolitionists and Nietzsche's "sovereign individual," with his terrific conscience and extraordinarily extended sense of responsibility; let us dwell, instead, on the relationship between more ordinary levels of self-overcoming and the rise of capitalism. Here Nietzsche allows us to make a crucial point. Historically speaking, capitalism requires conscience and can even be said to be identical with the ascendancy of conscience. This "tremendous labor" of instinctual renunciation on which promise keeping

⁹ Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals and Ecce Homo*, trans. Walter Kauffman and R. J. Hollingdale (New York, 1969), 57–58.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 57–59.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 67, 59–60. Nietzsche's admiration is sincere: "The existence on earth of an animal soul turned against itself, taking sides against itself, was something so new, profound, unheard of, enigmatic, contradictory, and *pregnant with a future* that the aspect of the earth was essentially altered. Indeed, divine spectators were needed to do justice to the spectacle that thus began and the end of which is not yet in sight"; *ibid.*, 85. Now that the ladder of renunciation had been arduously climbed, of course, Nietzsche was inexplicably confident that his new model man could kick it away and simply levitate.

¹² *Ibid.*, 60.

rests—a labor that even Nietzsche, a reckless critic of renunciation, felt obliged to endorse and make the starting point for his “sovereign individual” (one whose freedom would continue to be conditioned by his promises)—is an absolute prerequisite for the emergence of possessive individualism and market society. The individual cannot be said to possess his capacity to perform labor at some future time, or to be free to dispose of his labor to others for due compensation, until he is “self-possessed”—until, in other words, he can overcome his “healthy” forgetfulness and feel obliged to act on long chains of will.¹³ And, in the reciprocal manner that always holds between institutions and character, the practices and traits of personality that the market presupposes as a condition of its existence, it also induces and perpetually reinforces.

Conscience and promise keeping emerged in human history, of course, long before capitalism. Moreover, promise keeping is not merely a free-standing psychological trait but a cultural practice, deeply imbedded in a fabric of social relationships and dependent in part on an effectively institutionalized threat of force in the event of noncompliance. But it was not until the eighteenth century, in Western Europe, England, and North America, that societies first appeared whose economic systems depended on the expectation that most people, most of the time, were sufficiently conscience-ridden (and certain of retribution) that they could be trusted to keep their promises. In other words, only then did promise keeping become so widespread that it could be elevated into a general social norm. Only to the extent that such a norm prevails can economic affairs be based on nothing more authoritative than the obligations arising out of promises. And a growing reliance on mutual promises, or contractual relations, in lieu of relations based on status, custom, or traditional authority comes very close to the heart of what we mean by “the rise of capitalism.”

Both the growing force of the norm of promise keeping and its synchronization with the spread of market relations are clearly inscribed in the history of the law of contract. A contract is, of course, an exchange of promises, and as such the law of contract provides us with a direct measure of the centrality of promise keeping in society. But the significance of the rising trajectory that we can trace in the history of Anglo-American contract law is not limited to this, for, in addition to being an exchange of promises, every contract is also an ensemble of mutually contingent recipes.¹⁴ When people enter into contractual relations with one another, each commits himself to bring to pass some designated future event, usually without bothering to spell out the intricate but taken-for-granted sequence of mundane cause-and-effect connections that he plans to rely on. Although the documents supporting contractual agreements ordinarily specify little more than the desired outcome, the very fact that the parties have contracted together

¹³ C. B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke* (London, 1962), 48: “If a single criterion of the possessive market society is wanted it is that man’s labour is a commodity, i.e. that a man’s energy and skill are his own, yet are regarded not as integral parts of his personality, but as possessions, the use and disposal of which he is free to hand over to others for a price.”

¹⁴ For my use of the term “recipe” and the role that recipe knowledge plays in establishing the background against which causal attribution and judgments of moral responsibility are made, see “Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility, Part I,” 356–57.

signifies two things: a tacit claim by each promisor that he possesses the recipe knowledge necessary for producing the desired outcome and a tacit expression of faith by each promisee that the promisor's recipes do exist and can be expected to work. Contract law, therefore, supplies not only evidence of the growing force of conscience in market society but also evidence about the growing fund of recipe knowledge on which perceptions of causal involvement and moral responsibility necessarily rest.

The historical record shows that the norm of promise keeping attained only recently the ascendancy we take for granted. In England before the twelfth century, promises exchanged by private individuals were generally beneath the notice of the king's courts. In that century and the next, a few contractual relationships gained legal sanction through writs of covenant, debt, and detinue. The rigidity and limited scope of these forms of pleading led to their growing circumvention by actions of trespass, or what today would be called torts or wrongs, and by the early seventeenth century a subspecies of trespass, the action of *assumpsit* (meaning "undertaking," or assumption of responsibility for bringing an event to pass), had developed into a general remedy for breaches of contract.¹⁵ Extensive though the early development of contract law was, it pales in comparison to what happened in the last decades of the eighteenth century, when the hitherto gradual reorientation of English life to the market accelerated dramatically. So great was the corresponding leap of the law that as late as 1765, when Blackstone published his *Commentaries*, contract law played (by comparison to its later role) a "very small part in the legal scheme," amounting to little more than "an appendage to the law of property."¹⁶

In the decades following 1770, as contract law disentangled itself from property law and grew explosively, swiftly subsuming property law and much else within its widening province, a subtle shift occurred in the grounds of promissory liability, one that gave still greater impetus to the prodigious enlargement in the sphere of legally enforceable promises then underway. Traditionally, liability had rested on a combination of promise and consideration. Promise alone, the mere fact of a voluntary and deliberate declaration of intent to do something, was not enough. What made a promise binding was consideration, proof that there had been "adequate motivating circumstances"—such as a fee or other concrete benefit—to induce the promisor to give his promise. Since judge and jury determined the adequacy of consideration, this doctrine left an opening for judicial discretion and for communal standards of "just price" and fairness that imposed severe constraints on the kinds of contractual relations individuals were able to form.¹⁷

¹⁵ A. W. B. Simpson, *A History of the Common Law of Contract: The Rise of the Action of Assumpsit* (London, 1975), 4, 199, 215–18, 281–316.

¹⁶ Atiyah, *Rise and Fall of Freedom of Contract*, 102. On parallel developments in America, see Morton J. Horwitz, *The Transformation of American Law, 1780–1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), chap. 6. Also see Grant Gilmore, *The Death of Contract* (Columbus, Ohio, 1974). Although Horwitz's book is extremely valuable, it falls victim (as Atiyah's does not) to the usual weaknesses of the social control mode of explanation: an exaggeration of the role played by class interest, based on the assumption that only interest can link base with superstructure.

¹⁷ Simpson, *History of the Common Law of Contract*, 323; and Atiyah, *Rise and Fall of Freedom of Contract*, 139–49.

In decline, yet still surprisingly vigorous in Blackstone's day, these constraints gave way completely in the last decades of the eighteenth century and early decades of the nineteenth (the entire process in America lagging a couple of decades behind England). As Anglo-American law entered the "Age of Contract," it simultaneously shifted toward a pure "will" or "consensus theory" of liability according to which obligation arose less from consideration than from the naked will of the contracting parties—the very *nuda voluntas* that traditional law had rejected. Originating as a kind of tort, contract now took on its modern status as the antithesis of tort: obligations created not by law but by private agreement. Traditionally, the courts had been willing to enforce a promise only when the circumstances inducing the defendant to give it (the consideration) were so strong that he was in a sense obliged to perform the act in question whether or not he had promised to do so. A much wider range of promises became binding, as the courts abandoned any attempt to evaluate the circumstances underlying an uncoerced declaration of intention. Now that intent was a sufficient ground of obligation, a promisor could be made to perform, or pay damages in lieu of performance, even if he backed out of his contract before the promisee had relied, to his detriment, on the promise given. Even if the promisor had not yet received any of the benefits that the contract called for, he could be held liable. For the first time the law strained to make promisors generally liable for whatever expectations their promises created. Never before had promises counted for so much in human affairs, and never before had the penalties for being short-willed and unreliable been so severe.¹⁸

It is not merely coincidental that humanitarianism burst into bloom in the late eighteenth century just as the norm of promise keeping was being elevated to a supreme moral and legal imperative. At the most obvious level, the new stress on promise keeping contributed to the emergence of the humanitarian sensibility by encouraging new levels of scrupulosity in the fulfillment of ethical maxims. If one's customers and trading partners were increasingly conceded the right and actual power to invoke legal penalties for one's failure to live up to one's promises, what of the obligations created by one's covenant with God? The Golden Rule took on a new operational significance for pious men like John Woolman not simply because of an upwelling of piety but also because the spread of market transactions changed the backdrop against which scrupulosity was measured by imposing on everyday affairs an unprecedentedly high standard of conscientious performance.¹⁹

What of caveat emptor? We have seen that the code of the marketplace encouraged contracting parties to treat each other in an unneighborly way, coldly and suspiciously—as strangers, in fact—and it is well known how devastating the consequences of this market-induced callousness could be, especially in relations between employers and employees. But even as the market shrank the conventional limits of moral responsibility in this respect, it was expanding them in others.

¹⁸ Atiyah, *Rise and Fall of Freedom of Contract*, 139–49, 194–205, 208, 212–16; and Horwitz, *Transformation of American Law*, 160, 174, 180–86, 200–01.

¹⁹ I discuss Woolman more fully in the closing pages of this essay.

For in the Age of Contract those who engaged in market transactions *were*, more often, strangers, people who shared no tie of blood, faith, or community. Such people would not have dared to do business with one another but for the growing assurances provided them by the law and other market-oriented institutions that promises would be kept—even promises made to a stranger. For example, the dominance in the transatlantic trade that Jewish and Quaker merchants of New York and Newport enjoyed because of their ability to trust fellow believers in faraway ports broke down in the 1750s precisely because the norm of promise keeping had by then gained such force that the “arm’s length” variety of trust needed to do overseas business was no longer confined to fellow members of persecuted sects.²⁰

Nor was the extension of trust to strangers the only way in which a promise-keeping form of life raised standards of scrupulosity. As Lord Kames, Scottish moral-sense philosopher and sessions judge, observed in his *Principles of Equity* (1767), “Contracts and promises are not confined to commercial dealings: they serve also to make benevolence a duty, independent of any pecuniary interest. . . . For it is remarkable in human nature, that though we always sympathize with our relations, and with those under our eye, the distress of persons remote and unknown affects us very little.”²¹ What made the customary level of indifference for the fate of strangers seem “remarkable” to Kames was the routinization of the norm of promise keeping in everyday affairs. And, of course, once indifference had become remarkable, it had potentially become unconscionable as well.

BUT SCRUPULOSITY IS NOT ENOUGH. The case of the starving stranger shows us that even scrupulous adherence to ethical maxims need not lead to humane action. No matter how hard people strive to live up to moral codes, they have no occasion for feeling causally implicated in the sufferings of a stranger until they possess techniques capable of affecting his condition. Even then their response is not likely to go beyond passive sympathy unless the relevant techniques are so familiar that not to use them would stand out as an abnormality, a suspension of expected levels of carefulness. So in order to link capitalism with humanitarianism we need to show not only that the market induced a higher level of conscientiousness but also that it expanded the range of causal perception and inspired people’s confidence in their power to intervene in the course of events. Here lies the significance of the fact that contracts are both promises and mutually contingent recipes, for, as we saw in our hypothetical case, new ways of acting on the world, new recipes for producing desired events, are what push people over the threshold separating passive sympathy from humane action.

The explosive growth of contract law in the century following 1770 gives us a useful measure of the increasing frequency of recipe usage and the burgeoning

²⁰ Daniel Snyder, “Traders in Exile: Quakers and Jews of New York and Newport in the New World Economy, 1650–1776” (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1982).

²¹ Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Principles of Equity* (2d edn., Edinburgh, 1767), 16–17. These words appear in Kames’s “Preliminary Discourse: Being an Investigation of the Moral Laws of Society,” which was not included in any other edition of *Principles of Equity*.

fund of recipe knowledge available to the merchants, manufacturers, artisans, and improving farmers of England and America in these years. Not only was the fund of knowledge growing but recipes of increasing complexity and unprecedented temporal extension were being employed. In the early development of English law, suits for breach of contract typically involved simple undertakings like the conveyance of a cow across a river or the construction of a cottage, but by the end of the eighteenth century we find extremely complex transactions, often requiring the coordination of an intricate sequence of activities by people far removed from one another in space and time.²² The variety of goals that private citizens pursued and the range of means available for pursuing them were clearly on the rise. In view of what we have learned from the case of the starving stranger, this is exactly the sort of development that we would expect to give some people such a strong conviction of their ability to intervene at will in the course of events that passivity would, for them, begin to appear abnormal and, hence, blameworthy. By the middle of the nineteenth century this conviction was strong enough in the mind of an abolitionist like O. B. Frothingham that, although the evils of pauperism still struck him as "providential," something growing "out of the inevitable condition of things," the miseries of the slave no longer seemed beyond the reach of reform. Slavery, he wrote, is "an institution which the conscious will of man has built up, and which the same will, faithfully exerted, might . . . abolish in a year, a month, a week, a day. . . . Pauperism, from its nature involves no direct Guilt. Slavery is essential Guilt."²³

The breath-taking confidence of the Age of Enlightenment is too well known to need any review here. Countercurrents of doubt and skepticism notwithstanding, doctrines of automatic progress enjoyed greatest currency during the century following 1750. Neither before nor since has European man felt so sure that merely by daring to use his own reason he might make himself master of both nature and fate. The supreme sense of individual and collective potency that prevailed in these decades made all existing institutional constraints seem malleable and contributed powerfully to the creation of a situation in which slavery could be challenged and other humanitarian reforms set in motion. To trace all the sources of this outburst of exaggerated pride in man's role as a causal agent, capable of shaping the future to his own will, would lead us far afield, for example, into the history of science and mechanical invention. But one important source lies close at hand in the market and in the impetus it gave to the accumulation and elaboration of manipulative techniques for the conduct of everyday affairs. It was

²² Simpson, *History of the Common Law of Contract*, 204, 249; and Atiyah, *Rise and Fall of Freedom of Contract*, 219–26.

²³ Frothingham, as quoted in Jonathan A. Glickstein, "'Poverty is not Slavery': American Abolitionists and the Competitive Labor Market," in Lewis Perry and Michael Fellman, eds., *Antislavery Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Abolitionists* (Baton Rouge, La., 1979), 199. Frothingham also predicted that pauperism, "in all its dismal shapes, with all its terrible sorrows, . . . will be outgrown as man becomes more wise and powerful"; *ibid.* Yet another outward shift in the horizon of causal involvement not unlike what Frothingham predicted can perhaps be observed in Wendell Phillips's change of opinion on wage labor. Before the Civil War he dismissed the term "wage slavery" as "utterly unintelligible" but by 1871 had declared his opposition to the entire wage system. Phillips, as quoted in Daniel Rodgers, *The Work Ethic in Industrial America* (Chicago, 1978), 32.

not only the exotic achievements of Newtonian science or dramatic labor-saving devices like the steam engine that underwrote Enlightenment optimism but also the buoyancy supplied by a surge of homely recipes for getting things done.

By its very nature the market encouraged the production of recipe knowledge. As the prime mover of a promise-keeping form of life, the market established a domain within which human behavior was cut loose from the anchor of tradition and yet simultaneously rendered as stable and predictable as "long chains of will" could make it. The combination of changeability and foreseeability created powerful incentives for the development of a manipulative, problem-solving sort of intelligence. As early as 1697 Daniel Defoe gave the name "projectors" to the distinctively future-oriented and knowledge-possessing men whose form of life was most closely attuned to the dynamics of market competition.

If industry be in any business rewarded with success, 'tis in the merchandizing part of the world, who indeed may be more truly said to live by their wits than any [other] people whatsoever. All foreign negoce [sic], tho' to some 'tis a plain road by the help of custom, yet it is in its beginning all project, contrivance, and invention. Every new voyage the merchant contrives is a project, and ships are sent from port to port, as markets and merchandizes differ, by the help of strange and universal intelligence; wherein some are so exquisite, so swift, and so exact, that a merchant sitting at home in his counting-house, at once converses with all parts of the known world. This, and travel, makes a true-bred merchant the most intelligent man in the world, and consequently the most capable, when urg'd by necessity, to contrive new ways to live.²⁴

Himself an exemplar of "the Projecting Humour that now reigns," Defoe devoted most of his *Essay Upon Projects* to no fewer than thirteen elaborate and ambitious plans for the improvement of national life, including a modernization of the banking system, construction of a national system of paved highways, establishment of nationwide pension and casualty insurance plans, a military academy, a college for women, and a "Fool's House" where the mentally incompetent would be sheltered from ridicule and exploitation.²⁵ As a recent student of economic thought and ideology in seventeenth-century England observed, "The extension of the market through individual initiative also worked to activate the participants' imaginative powers." Once the market had become a crucial regulator of human activity, dispensing rewards and providing valuable information, it could not help but encourage "long-range planning through rational calculations."²⁶

Not only raw intelligence—a *capacity* for envisioning the future and solving the problems it presented—but also solutions themselves took on added value under

²⁴ Defoe, *An Essay Upon Projects* (Menston, Eng., 1969), 7–8. The earliest entry in the Oxford English Dictionary for "project" in the sense of "a plan, scheme, purpose," something proposed for execution, is dated 1601.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 24.

²⁶ Joyce Oldham Appleby, *Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Princeton, N.J., 1978), 246, 84. Also see her comments on the importance of calculating equivalencies and on the power of abstraction; *ibid.*, 245, 247, 93. She noted that Defoe's demarcation of the period after 1680 as a "projecting age" is justified by the rapid economic growth and great surge of inventions that took place in these years; *ibid.*, 164–65. Seymour Drescher observed that the abolitionists "represented that portion of European society most completely mobilized for living with the sense of individual power, responsibility, and insecurity that flowed from the market"; Drescher, *Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition* (Pittsburgh, Penn., 1977), 183.

the market's aegis. Being imitative creatures, we humans solve most of our problems by adapting the techniques that have worked in the past to the different, yet partly similar, circumstances we now face. So the market's thirst for foresight and mental resourcefulness could not have been slaked without a quantum leap in the production, proliferation, circulation, and preservation of recipe knowledge. The extent and almost infinite variety of this homely sort of knowledge defies description, yet its importance can hardly be exaggerated. This expanding fund of ever more complex and powerful recipes for the conduct of daily affairs is what satisfied the critical preconditions for the emergence of the humanitarian sensibility.

The growing preoccupation of English and American courts with contractual litigation after 1770 mirrors the increasing density of recipe usage in the society outside the courtroom and thus reveals the power of the market to push outward the limits of causal perception and involvement. But contracts not only mirror recipe usage, they are themselves a singularly important kind of recipe for the mobilization of manpower and knowledge. When contracting parties commit themselves to bring certain designated events to pass, they fix the future with regard to those events, thereby providing each other with a significantly stabilized environment in which to operate. By making its own behavior predictable, each party to a contract enables the others to depend on it, and to incorporate its promised future performance into their own recipes as one ingredient. The result is a magnification of personal power, a way of doing collaboratively what no individual could do alone. Once the norm of promise keeping gained the legal sanction and the position of cultural ascendancy implied by the "will theory" of liability, the recipe of "contracting together" could become a powerful tool for shaping the future.

Among all the new techniques that flourished under the encouragement of the market, none did more to stretch people's sense of personal power—and therefore to extend their sense of causal involvement in other lives—than contractualism itself. And among all the sources of the humanitarian sensibility, none was more important than the contribution made by a promise-keeping form of life: a heightened sense of personal effectiveness created by the possession and use of powerful recipes—recipes made powerful in part by the growing calculability of a market society that tethered each ego to its own past intentions with "long chains of will," even as this society liberated each ego from traditional constraints on personal ambition. Nietzsche got the paradox right: by becoming sufficiently "calculable," "regular," and "necessary" to stand security for his own future, European man extended his sovereignty over nature and fate. And with every outward shift of the perimeter of sovereignty, the sphere within which conscience and responsibility potentially operated had to expand as well.

THE PROMISE-KEEPING ASPECT of the form of life spawned by the market did a great deal to satisfy the critical preconditions for the emergence of humanitarianism. But this was not the only contribution that the market made to the humanitarian

sensibility. In fact, promise keeping can be regarded as only one particular manifestation of a still more fundamental lesson the market taught: to attend to the remote consequences of one's acts. The two lessons were so closely entangled that in discussing the first we have already touched on the second, but the second was taught in every phase of market life—not just in the making of contracts.

The force of the market's second lesson is evident in the special place assigned to the idea of principle during the entrepreneurial phase of capitalism. As the legal scholar P. S. Atiyah observed, the "Age of Contract" was also an "Age of Principle."²⁷ Since the term could refer to rules of moral conduct as well as to law-like uniformities of nature, it bridged the widening chasm between nature and morality. "There were principles of political economy, principles of ethics and morality, principles of jurisprudence, principles of political behaviour, principles of commercial behaviour; there were also Men of Principle; and there was the contrast between Principle and Expediency."²⁸ No doubt Atiyah was correct to argue that the search for principles was sparked by the decay of traditional authority and the need for an alternative foundation flexible enough for a society of self-governing individuals. But more to the present point, the person who firmly grasped correct principles was one fit to prosper in a market society.

The defining characteristic of the "man of principle," the moral paragon of a promise-keeping, market-centered form of life, was his willingness to act on principle no matter how inconvenient it might be. Comparatively speaking, he cared little for the short-term consequences of his actions and was firmly convinced that in the long run adherence to the highly generalized maxims of conduct that he called principles would produce the most desirable outcomes. His was a calculus of utility that assigned such low weight to immediate consequences and such high value to remote ones that he could seem at times to be above utilitarian considerations altogether. What gave him the assurance to do this was, initially, his faith in the principle he adhered to—a recipe, let us note, of a very general and overarching character, such as "time is money" or "never go back on your word." Armed with his principles, gaze fixed on the remote good they assured him he would receive, the man (or woman) of principle was a formidable character in history, if also a rigid and uncompromising one. The abolitionists were notoriously men and women of principle, and, as we noted earlier, they bear more than a passing resemblance in this regard to Nietzsche's "sovereign individual." Once again Nietzsche saw exactly what was required. In order to preserve the connection between an original "I will" and the actual "discharge of the will" at a later time, the man of principle must, like the sovereign individual, "see and anticipate distant eventualities as if they were present."²⁹ He must, in other words, devote such close attention to the remote consequences of the various choices before him that he lives partly in the future.

In order to satisfy this *cognitive* precondition for the moral stature that goes with conscience and the right to make promises, one thing further is required: that man

²⁷ Atiyah, *Rise and Fall of Freedom of Contract*, 345.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 345–46.

²⁹ Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, 60, 58.

learn, as Nietzsche said, to “think causally.”³⁰ Since thinking causally consists of linking present choices to consequences more or less remote in time by the use of recipes that map a route from one to the other, what crucially distinguishes the man of principle from all “more short-willed and unreliable creatures” is a preoccupation with the remote consequences of his actions—a preoccupation made possible by his possession of far-reaching recipes and “principles” and a form of life that validates his trust in them.

Earnest people with a bent toward self-control have existed in all human societies, and their personality traits have often enjoyed the endorsement of religion. But through most of recorded history people imbued with these traits could not be at all certain that their earthly rewards would be measurably superior to the rewards accruing to less disciplined personality types. Scrupulous attention to remote consequences brings little advantage when life is either fixed by tradition or so lacking in fixity that it defies prediction. With the advent of the market came a sweeping endorsement of self-control and all the traits that accompany it, in the form of palpable benefits that no one could ignore. Although the growth of political stability and economic abundance played an important part, it was mainly the disciplinary force of the market that provided the intricate blend of ceaseless change, on the one hand, and predictability, on the other, in which a preoccupation with remote consequences paid off most handsomely. Every recipe postulates a causal regularity, and the farther a recipe reaches into the future, or the more complex the qualitative transformations it calls for, the greater the risk that it will fail. The man of principle, who tries to live by recipes of the most extended and risky sort, can thrive only under conditions like those that prevailed in the early entrepreneurial phase of capitalism, when the future was at once open enough to the individual to be manipulable and yet closed enough to be foreseeable.

The premium the market paid for accurate forecasts was readily visible to anyone routinely involved in market transactions. Where direct experience with the market was lacking, the same lesson, suitably draped in a moral and religious vocabulary, was driven home by numerous Victorian moralists. Anticipating the remote consequences of one's actions was thought to require not only concentrated attention but also self-restraint and a capacity to delay gratification that the middle class found lamentably lacking in criminals, paupers, madmen, children—not excepting their own—and others who became objects of humanitarian concern. “Want of Reflection,” declared John Burt, a typical prison reformer, “is pre-eminently the characteristic of the criminal. The habit is always wanting, often the capacity for it defective.”³¹

The missionary zeal of the middle class to disseminate to each rising generation and to all “dependent classes” its own habit of deferring immediate gratification for the sake of remote and principled rewards is well known. Teaching people the virtues of reflection and close attention to the distant consequences of their actions came to be regarded as a universal key to social progress, whether in the education

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 58.

³¹ Burt, as quoted in George Combe, *Remarks on the Principles of Criminal Legislation and the Practice of Prison Discipline* (London, 1864), 64 [italics deleted].

of children, the "moral treatment" of the insane, the cultivation of self-reliance in paupers (through plans like those of Samuel Gridley Howe), or the widely imitated incentive schemes of Alexander Maconochie, which were intended to produce the same effect among prisoners.³² Early nineteenth-century moral reformers felt that their crusade was succeeding, and, though they may have claimed credit for lessons that the market found its own ways to teach, there seems little reason to doubt that the character traits of the English and American populations did shift in these years. John Stuart Mill spoke as if the crucial battles had already been won when he claimed in 1835 that "the commonest person lives according to maxims of prudence founded on foresight of consequences. . . . The whole course of human life is founded upon the fact" that many consequences can be foreseen.³³ Although Herbert Spencer thought a severe regimen of prison discipline was appropriate for people "who dwell only in the present, the special, the concrete [and] who do not recognize the contingencies of the future," he favored comparatively mild treatment for the prison inmates of England, where liberal political institutions presupposed a population already habituated to "weighing distant results and being chiefly guided by them."³⁴

It is obvious today that Spencer and the Victorian middle class for whom he spoke greatly overestimated the universality of the values that a newly emergent form of life made supreme and underestimated the resistance to those values that would soon come not only from other classes but also from the sons and daughters of the middle class. But it should be equally obvious that the very possibility of feeling obliged to go to the aid of a suffering stranger—whether his suffering was that occasioned by chattel slavery or by what the observer interpreted as slavery to sin—was enormously heightened by the emergence of a form of life that made attention to the remote consequences of one's acts (or omissions) an emblem of civilization itself. On this issue Spencer and Nietzsche agreed: people who "dwell only in the present" live in a world that cannot sustain "bad consciences" or acute sensations of moral responsibility. To acknowledge this is not to say that all those who learned to dwell partly in the future became abolitionists. Clearly, most people

³² Michael Katz, writing of school reformers, said "the control of the passions coincided with another goal, especially necessary for social mobility but usually expressed in rather different terms: the ability to plan for the future. 'Forming plans for a distant future,' individuals 'rise nearer and nearer to a spiritual existence.' Ideally the parents and, if not, the school had to teach this lesson: substitute future for immediate gratification. . . . Restraint it was that separated the child from the adult. Men, claimed one writer, 'act from principle . . . the restraints of society are felt. They can see remote consequences. But children act from the impulses of their natures quickened by the objects around them.' Thus restraint was the personality characteristic central to education." Katz, *The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovations in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Massachusetts* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 121. Also see Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England, 1815–1872* (Pittsburgh, Penn., 1971); Blake McKelvey, *American Prisons: A History of Good Intentions* (Montclair, N.J., 1977), 36–38; David J. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the American Republic* (Boston, 1971); Michael Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain: The Penitentiary and the Industrial Revolution* (New York, 1978); Andrew Scull, *Museums of Madness: The Social Organization of Insanity in Nineteenth-Century England* (New York, 1979), "Moral Treatment Reconsidered: Some Sociological Comments on an Episode in the History of British Psychiatry," *Psychological Medicine*, 9 (1979): 421–28; Martin Wiener, ed., *Humanitarianism or Control? A Symposium on Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Social Reform in Britain and America: Rice University Studies*, 67 (1981); and Harold Schwartz, *Samuel Gridley Howe: Social Reformer, 1801–1876* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), chap. 6.

³³ Mill, as quoted in Aiyah, *Rise and Fall of Freedom of Contract*, 432.

³⁴ Spencer, "Prison Ethics," in *Essays Moral, Political, and Aesthetic* (New York, 1888), 216–17.

equipped with the wide causal horizons that go with powerful recipes either devoted themselves to the new opportunities for self-aggrandizement that the market also opened up or, at best, tended their own gardens, abiding by traditional conventions of moral responsibility. But some of these long-willed people were bound to discover that traditional conventions were no longer compatible with the extended causal recipes they and their neighbors increasingly took for granted. Attributing to themselves far-reaching powers of intervention, they also found themselves exposed to sensations of guilt and responsibility that their predecessors, no matter how conscientious, had not experienced.

What, then, did capitalism contribute to the freeing of the slaves? Only a *precondition*, albeit a vital one: a proliferation of recipe knowledge and consequent expansion of the conventional limits of causal perception and moral responsibility that compelled some exceptionally scrupulous individuals to attack slavery and prepared others to listen and comprehend. The precondition could have been satisfied by other means, yet during the period in question no other force pressed outward on the limits of moral responsibility with the strength of the market. Since capitalism supplied only a precondition, no one need be surprised that the subsequent history of capitalist societies has not been greatly distinguished by humanitarian achievements. The argument presented here is not that markets breed humane action but that in the particular historical circumstances of late eighteenth-century Anglo-American culture the market happens to have been the force that pushed causal perception across the threshold that had hitherto made the slaves' misery (and much other human suffering) seem a necessary evil. One would no more expect markets continually to elevate the morality of the population than one would expect oxygen—in the absence of which ignition cannot occur—always to produce fire. Then, too, there is reason to fear that still another face of the market has prevailed in the later stages of capitalism, one far less supportive of the humanitarian sensibility.³⁵

THE EARLY QUAKER ABOLITIONIST John Woolman supplies a fittingly concrete concluding illustration of the process we have been discussing. Familiar with the extensive libraries and busy counting-houses of family friends in nearby Philadelphia, Woolman, at age twenty-one, left his father's farm to keep books and tend store. Soon he opened his own retail store, learned the tailor's trade, and supplemented his earnings by keeping an orchard, teaching, drafting wills and legal documents, and conducting land surveys. "The increase of business became my burden," he later said, "for though my natural inclination was toward merchandise, yet I believed Truth required me to live more free from outward cumbers."³⁶ Giving up his store at age thirty-six, Woolman spent the rest of his life traveling widely as an itinerant Quaker minister, displaying everywhere a

³⁵ Here I have in mind Philip Rieff's *The Triumph of the Therapeutic: The Uses of Faith after Freud* (New York, 1966) and T. J. Jackson Lears's *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920* (New York, 1981).

³⁶ Woolman, *The Journal and Major Essays of John Woolman*, ed. Phillips P. Moulton (New York, 1971), 53.

remarkable gift for challenging the morality of slaveholding without offending slaveholders.

The order of Woolman's thoughts in his classic 1746 essay, "Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes," corresponds closely with the stages I contend anyone would have had to undergo as he moved intellectually from a world in which slave misery provoked only the passive sympathy we feel today for starving strangers to a world in which remaining passive in the face of such misery seemed unconscionable. Woolman began with convention. Although the "customs" governing the extent of our duty to care for our fellow men seem as deeply fixed in the nature of things as "the natural produce of a soil," said Woolman, the highest wisdom requires us to "forego" these customs and adhere to God's "infallible standard: Truth." Conceding that God may have favored "us" over Negroes, Woolman insisted that it was not with any design that we exploit them or be indifferent to their fate. God's love is universal, and ours should imitate His. The "natural affection" that we tend to confine to our own immediate family is only a "branch of self-love," and it neither distinguishes us from inferior creatures nor satisfies our Savior's injunction to love all of mankind. The criterion by which we should test our conduct is known to us all: "How should I approve of this conduct were I in their circumstance and they in mine?"³⁷

Then Woolman addressed two anticipated objections. The first was that the Golden Rule does not really require care for strangers. This he countered with a passage from Leviticus: "The stranger that dwelleth with you shall be as one born amongst you, and thou shalt love him as thyself." The second was the slaveowner's plea that, having made an investment and undertaken risk, he was now entitled to the slave's labor. Here Woolman responded that the master's property in the slave is "wrong from the beginning. . . . if I purchase a man who hath never forfeited his liberty, the natural right of freedom is in him."³⁸

Having called existing conventions of moral responsibility into question and pointed to an accepted ethical maxim that, if acted upon, would require radical changes of conduct, Woolman then graciously conceded the fallibility of human understanding and even a kind of limited relativity of values. This concession is extremely revealing within the framework of explanation developed here, because it is based on his clear recognition that many people in his society were virtually incapable of perceiving their acts or omissions as significant contributory causes of the slave's plight.

While we have no right to keep men as servants for term of life but that of superior power, to do this with design by their labour to profit ourselves and our families I believe is wrong. But I do not believe that all who have kept slaves have therefore been chargeable with guilt.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 198–203. The Golden Rule first appears in the sixth paragraph of Woolman's essay; this version, later in the book, is in a passage that Woolman drew from the works of a London Quaker, Alexander Arscott. Sydney James observed that for Quakers "even launching a business without adequate training and credit was a case of failure to do 'unto all men, as we would they should do unto us'"; James, *A People Among Peoples: Quaker Benevolence in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 32.

³⁸ Woolman, *Journal and Major Essays*, 203, 204. Woolman's inclusion of the proviso that the slave never forfeited his liberty indicates that he was familiar with the work of the natural rights philosophers. See Richard Tuck, *Natural Rights Theories: Their Origin and Development* (New York, 1979).

If their motives thereto were free from selfishness and their slaves content, they were a sort of freemen, which I believe hath sometimes been the case.

Whatever a man does in the spirit of charity, to him it is not sin; and while he lives and acts in this spirit, he learns all things essential to his happiness as an individual. *And if he doth not see that any injury or injustice to any other person is necessarily promoted by any part of his form of government, I believe the merciful Judge will not lay iniquity to his charge. Yet others who live in the same spirit of charity from a clear conviction may see the relation of one thing to another and the necessary tendency of each; and hence it may be absolutely binding on them to desist from some parts of conduct which some good men have been in.*³⁹

From Woolman's perspective, the slaveholder's conduct was not immoral as long as he failed to see "the relation of one thing to another and the necessary tendency of each." To persist after being convinced of these causal connections was another matter, and, of course, convincing slaveholders that their conduct had more distant consequences than they recognized was Woolman's lifework. If the points he addressed in his essay are any reflection of the arguments he heard as he traveled around the country meeting with slaveholders, the slaveholders' principal defense against Woolman's gentle prodding was the remoteness of their responsibility, as mere owners of slaves, for the undoubted misery inflicted on the slave by the person who enslaved him. Historians have treated this defense as a cynical dodge, but Woolman took it very seriously. The geographical remoteness of the scene of initial enslavement, argued Woolman, was no defense: "Great distance makes nothing in our favour. To willingly join with unrighteousness to the injury of men who live some thousands of miles off is the same in substance as joining with it to the injury of our neighbours." Nor was temporal remoteness any defense: "Can it be possible for an honest man to think that with view to self-interest we may continue slavery to the offspring of these unhappy sufferers, merely because they are the children of slaves—and not have a share of this guilt?"⁴⁰

It was, however, not only spatial and temporal remoteness with which Woolman had to contend. The misery of slaves seemed remote to his listeners in a more fundamental way. The crucial novelty of Woolman's own perspective—the element of his thinking that set him far apart from most of his audience in the 1740s but that, when more widely shared a century later, helped swell antislavery ranks—was his recognition of the causal relationship that exists in market societies between supply and demand.

Whatever nicety of distinction there may be betwixt going in person on expeditions to catch slaves, and buying those with a view to self-interest which others have taken, it is clear and plain to an upright mind that such distinction is in words, not in substance; for the parties are concerned in the same work and have a necessary connection with and dependence on each other. *For were there none to purchase slaves, they who live by stealing and selling them would of consequence do less at it.*⁴¹

How natural that a man who was both a devout Quaker, vigorously striving for a

³⁹ Woolman, *Journal and Major Essays*, 211.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 233, 235.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 234.

clear conscience in worldly affairs, and a skillful “projector,” attentive to the remote consequences of his acts and familiar with the intricate web of mutual dependencies that the market establishes between buyers and sellers, should be among the first to see the seemingly civilized and law-abiding slaveowner as engaged in essentially “the same work” as the barbaric slave stealer. Woolman, writing thirty years before Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations* put talk of supply and demand on everybody’s lips, was ahead of his time and knew better than to be angry when his contemporaries failed to perceive the “dependence” and “necessary connection” that seemed so obvious to him. The idea that by owning a slave (or even a product of slave labor) one helped constitute the demand without which suppliers of slave labor could not stay in business gained plausibility in the decades ahead, as more and more people came to share in the form of life Woolman and other Quakers adopted so early.⁴²

Within little more than one long lifetime after Woolman wrote, slavery, an ancient institution from which millions of people profited, directly or indirectly, was completely overthrown in North America and the British empire. In spite of the enormous interests at stake, the rarity, even among abolitionists, of notions of racial equality, and the availability in England and America of a political-legal culture strongly oriented to the defense of property rights, surprisingly few people were willing to defend those who owned property in slaves. Thus, an institution, which, had it been evaluated in purely technical terms, might have represented a solution to the problems of labor discipline that modernizers everywhere confronted, was abruptly abandoned.⁴³ This astounding reversal of fortunes does not testify to the importance of “interests,” which could as easily be said to have favored the opposite outcome, or to the autonomous power of high ideals, which are, in themselves, compatible with many levels of passivity and activism. What it shows instead is the force of the conventions that govern causal perception and moral responsibility, without which we would not know what our interests are or what it means to be responsible.

⁴² In his journal Woolman recorded his anxiety about accepting hospitality from slaveholders, because it enabled him to save his own money and thereby made him a party to their oppression of slaves. He cleared his conscience by carrying small silver coins with him that he paid to the slaves of the household, either directly or through their masters; *ibid.*, 59–61. Although recipe knowledge and an awareness of the “necessary connection” between prerequisites is a precondition for the emergence of the humanitarian sensibility, these things are by no means sufficient in themselves to produce that sensibility. Daniel Defoe, a disappointed investor in the Royal African Company, is a case in point. Like Woolman, he conceived of the slave trade as part of a network of cause-and-effect relationships. But from this he drew in 1713 the conclusion that the slave trade was indispensable to England’s prosperity: “The case is as plain as cause and consequence: Mark the climax. No African trade, no negroes; no negroes no sugars, gingers, indicoes [sic] etc; no sugars etc no island; no islands no continent; no continent no trade.” Defoe, as quoted in Peter Earle, *The World of Defoe* (London, 1976), 131. Defoe’s involvement with the slave trade was brought to my attention by Seymour Drescher.

⁴³ Stanley Engerman brought this possibility to my attention.

The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities

T. J. JACKSON LEARS

TWENTY YEARS AGO THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST Antonio Gramsci was rarely discussed outside his native land; now he has become an intellectual cause célèbre and in some quarters a cult hero. Scholars continue to pore over his political journalism and his prison notebooks, reassembling the fragments in hopes of theoretical illumination. Articles and monographs continue to multiply. One historian on the Right has conjured up the vision of interdisciplinary programs in Gramsci studies, replete with unreadable journals and reverent textual exegesis. Already, on some European campuses, one poster of the Sardinian hunchback will fetch a whole wall full of Trotskies.¹

Part of this furor involves the effort of young intellectuals on the Left to locate a moral inspiration. Gramsci's resistance to Mussolini, his stress on the role of individual action and thought in history, his desire that workers create their own cultural institutions through devices like factory councils—all this makes him an appealing figure. For many he also seems to explain why workers under advanced capitalism have not behaved the way Marx said they would and to offer a more successful revolutionary strategy. Yet his work has analytical uses as well, and those are my concern in this essay. I do not mean to turn Gramsci into "the Marxist you can take home to mother."² One cannot ignore his revolutionary vision. But one does not have to embrace it uncritically to recognize that Gramsci's social thought contains some remarkably suggestive insights into the question of dominance and subordination in modern capitalist societies. There are intellectual as well as moral and political reasons for the rediscovery of Gramsci.

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¹ Aileen Kraditor, *The Radical Persuasion, 1890–1917: Aspects of the Intellectual History and the Historiography of Three American Radical Organizations* (Baton Rouge, La., 1981), 332 n. 14; and Carlin Romano, "But Was He a Marxist?" review of Anne Showstack Sassoon, ed., *Approaches to Gramsci, Village Voice*, March 29, 1983, p. 41. For valuable introductions to Gramsci, in addition to those cited in the following notes, see John Cammett, *Antonio Gramsci and the Origins of Italian Communism* (Stanford, Calif., 1967); Thomas Nemeth, *Gramsci's Philosophy: A Critical Study* (Sussex, England, 1980); and Alastair Davidson, *Antonio Gramsci: Towards an Intellectual Biography* (London, 1970).

² Romano, "But Was He a Marxist?" 41.

Gramsci's most interesting ideas cluster around the concept of cultural hegemony, which he used to address the relation between culture and power under capitalism. I will explore the implications of those ideas for historians but do not pretend to give a comprehensive account of Gramsci's voluminous, chaotic, and mostly untranslated writings. Many scholars are far more qualified than I am for that task, and they are hard at work. To me, Gramsci's work suggests starting points for rethinking some fundamental issues in recent interpretations of American history.

Studies of Gramsci have nearly always characterized his work as an effort to loosen the rigidities of orthodox Marxism. The characterization is accurate, but it leaves the impression that Gramsci's work is relevant only to self-consciously Marxist scholars. Actually, Gramsci can inspire fresh thought in historians from a variety of intellectual traditions. By clarifying the political functions of cultural symbols, the concept of cultural hegemony can aid intellectual historians trying to understand how ideas reinforce or undermine existing social structures and social historians seeking to reconcile the apparent contradiction between the power wielded by dominant groups and the relative cultural autonomy of subordinate groups whom they victimize. In short, Gramsci's work, besides ventilating the Marxist tradition, provides a theoretical framework and a vocabulary for understanding historiographical problems that have asserted themselves with special force during the last fifteen years.

GRAMSCI'S TRANSLATED WRITINGS CONTAIN no precise definition of cultural hegemony. What comes closest is his often-quoted characterization of hegemony as "the 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is 'historically' caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production."³ To have Gramsci "define" the concept in this way is merely to begin unraveling its significance. The process sounds mechanical: ruling groups *impose* a direction on social life; subordinates are manipulatively persuaded to board the "dominant fundamental" express.

It would be a mistake, though, to rest with that conclusion. The concept of cultural hegemony can only be understood within a variety of historical and intellectual contexts. To rely on a single "definition" is misleading. To give Gramsci his due, we need first to recognize that the concept of hegemony has little meaning unless paired with the notion of domination. For Gramsci, consent and force nearly always coexist, though one or the other predominates. The tsarist regime, for example, ruled primarily through domination—that is, by monopolizing the instruments of coercion. Among parliamentary regimes only the weakest are forced to rely on domination; normally they rule through hegemony, even though

³ Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. and trans. Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York, 1971), 12.

the threat of officially sanctioned force always remains implicit. Ruling groups do not maintain their hegemony merely by giving their domination an aura of moral authority through the creation and perpetuation of legitimating symbols; they must also seek to win the consent of subordinate groups to the existing social order.⁴

The ambiguities are immediately apparent. What components of a dominant culture require the consent of subordinates? Gramsci had in mind the values, norms, perceptions, beliefs, sentiments, and prejudices that support and define the existing distribution of goods, the institutions that decide how this distribution occurs, and the permissible range of disagreement about those processes. And what was the precise nature of subordinate consent? At times Gramsci implied an active commitment to the established order, based on a deeply held belief that the rulers are indeed legitimate. This is what has persuaded some critics of Gramsci to link him with Herbert Marcuse as a prophet of "one-dimensional society." But Gramsci said other, more interesting things about consent. In key passages of the *Prison Notebooks*, he illuminated the ambiguities of consent by focusing on the conflict that sometimes arises between a person's conscious thoughts and the implicit values embedded in his actions. This conflict points to the complexity of popular consciousness under capitalism. The working class had "its own conception of the world, even if only embryonic; a conception which manifests itself in action, but occasionally and in flashes." Yet it had also "adopted a conception which is not its own but is borrowed from another group." The consequence was that "man-in-the-mass" had

two theoretical consciousnesses (or one contradictory consciousness): one which is implicit in his activity and which in reality unites him with all his fellow-workers in the practical transformation of the real world; and one, superficially explicit or verbal, which he has inherited from the past and uncritically absorbed. But this verbal conception is not without consequences. It holds together a specific social group, it influences moral conduct and the direction of will, with varying efficacy but often powerfully enough to produce a situation in which the contradictory state of consciousness does not permit of any action, any decision or any choice, and produces a condition of moral and political passivity.⁵

From this perspective, the maintenance of hegemony does not require active commitment by subordinates to the legitimacy of elite rule. Less powerful people may be thoroughly disaffected. At times they may openly revolt through strikes, factory takeovers, mass movements, and perhaps the creation of a counterhegemony. But normally most people find it difficult, if not impossible, to translate the outlook implicit in their experience into a conception of the world that will directly challenge the hegemonic culture. The problem is partly one of language, and here Gramsci anticipated Michel Foucault's emphasis on the role of "discursive practice" in reinforcing domination. Gramsci realized that "every language contains the elements of a conception of the world." The available

⁴ *Ibid.*, 55–60, 80 n., 238–39; Walter L. Adamson, *Hegemony and Revolution: A Study of Antonio Gramsci's Political and Cultural Theory* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1980), chap. 6, esp. pp. 170, 173; and Perry Anderson, "The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci," *New Left Review*, 100 (1976–77): 5–78.

⁵ Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, 326–27, 333.

vocabulary helps mark the boundaries of permissible discourse, discourages the clarification of social alternatives, and makes it difficult for the dispossessed to locate the source of their unease, let alone remedy it.⁶

Consent, for Gramsci, involves a complex mental state, a "contradictory consciousness" mixing approbation and apathy, resistance and resignation. The mix varies from individual to individual; some are more socialized than others. In any case, ruling groups never engineer consent with complete success; the outlook of subordinate groups is always divided and ambiguous. Gramsci's preoccupation with consent led him to recast the "base-superstructure" model of classical Marxism. He narrowed the economic base to include only the material and technical instruments of production; he broadened the superstructure to include political society, civil society, and the state. For Gramsci, "The State, which is usually thought of as political society—i.e., a dictatorship or some other coercive apparatus used to control the masses in conformity with a given type of production and economy—[is] a balance between political society and civil society, by which I mean the hegemony of one social group over the entire nation, exercised through so-called private organizations like the Church, trade unions, or schools." The state, in other words, is "hegemony protected by the armour of coercion." While his language suggests that "the masses" are still in the grip of a monolithic ruling class, Gramsci departed in important ways from classical Marxism. He not only allowed for a more complex superstructure but also reconsidered its relation to the base. For Gramsci mental life is more than a pale reflection of more basic developments in material life. The link between the two realms is not linear causality but circular interaction within an organic whole.⁷

In his effort to formulate a more flexible approach to "base" and "superstructure," Gramsci began to broaden and deepen Marxist notions of ideology. For Gramsci, ideology is not merely a system of beliefs that reflects specific class interests; its development is more complex. The starting point for understanding it is

the "spontaneous philosophy" which is proper to everybody. This philosophy is contained in: 1. language itself, which is a totality of determined notions and concepts and not just of words grammatically devoid of content; 2. "common sense" [conventional wisdom] and "good sense" [empirical knowledge]; 3. popular religion and, therefore, also in the entire system of beliefs, superstitions, opinions, ways of seeing things and of acting, which are collectively bundled together under the name of "folklore."

Spontaneous philosophy embodies all sorts of sentiments and prejudices that have private, subjective meanings apart from the public realm of power relations, yet it can never be divorced entirely from that realm. Some values (such as kinship ties) are more likely to remain relatively autonomous; others (such as attitudes toward

⁶ Gramsci, as quoted in Joseph V. Femia, *Gramsci's Political Thought* (Oxford, 1981), 44. I am deeply indebted to Femia's thoughtful analysis of the ambiguities in Gramsci's notion of consent; *ibid.*, 35–50. For the clearest introduction to the relevance of Foucault's work for historians, see Mark Poster, "Foucault and History," *Social Research*, 49 (1982): 116–42.

⁷ Gramsci, *Letters from Prison*, ed. and trans. L. Lawner (New York, 1973), 204, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, 262–63; and Adamson, *Hegemony and Revolution*, 179, 215.

work or patriotic duty) are more likely to be mobilized in the service of a particular social group. In Gramsci's scheme a given group or class, as it develops in the economic sphere, finds some values more congenial than others, more resonant with its own everyday experience. Selectively refashioning the available spontaneous philosophy, a group may develop its own particular world view—an ideology that cements it into what Gramsci called a "historical bloc" possessing both cultural and economic solidarity. The idea of historical bloc departs significantly from notions of class embedded in the Marxist tradition: it promotes analysis of social formations that cut across categories of ownership and nonownership and that are bound by religious or other ideological ties as well as those of economic interest. A historical bloc may or may not become hegemonic, depending on how successfully it forms alliances with other groups or classes. The keys to success are ideological and economic: to achieve cultural hegemony, the leaders of a historical bloc must develop a world view that appeals to a wide range of other groups within the society, and they must be able to claim with at least some plausibility that their particular interests are those of society at large. This claim may require selective accommodation to the desires of subordinate groups. The emerging hegemonic culture is not merely an ideological mystification but serves the interests of ruling groups at the expense of subordinate ones.⁸

The overall picture that Gramsci provides is not a static, closed system of ruling-class domination. Rather, it is a society in constant process, where the creation of counterhegemonies remains a live option. As one of Gramsci's most thoughtful critics observed, hegemony is "a process of continuous creation which, given its massive scale, is bound to be uneven in the degree of legitimacy it commands and to leave some room for antagonistic cultural expressions to develop."⁹ Gramsci's vision of society involves not a mechanical model of base and superstructure but a complex interaction of relatively autonomous spheres (public and private; political, cultural, and economic) within a totality of attitudes and practices. And yet he remained faithful to the Marxist tradition in granting causal priority to the economic sphere under most conditions. The base does not determine specific forms of consciousness, but it does determine what forms of consciousness are possible. The process of interaction between spheres is characterized by the formation and reformation of historical blocs, which, depending on their success in forming alliances and disseminating a coherent ideology, may or may not come to exert a hegemonic influence.

This vision is manifestly more complex than most anti-Marxist critics have realized: it rejects the economic determinism of the Second International; it broadens the notion of ideology, rooting it in spontaneous philosophy (what Raymond Williams might call "structure of feeling"); it redirects the obsession with objective determinants of class by introducing the idea of historical bloc; it acknowledges the role of the state as a complex political entity, not merely a tool

⁸ Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, 323; Adamson, *Hegemony and Revolution*, 170–79; and Roger Simon, *Gramsci's Political Thought: An Introduction* (London, 1982), 58–79.

⁹ Adamson, *Hegemony and Revolution*, 174. For a similar view, see Raymond Williams, "Base and Superstructure in Marxian Cultural Theory," *New Left Review*, 82 (1973): 3–16.

of the bourgeoisie; it points us toward cultural definitions of race, ethnicity, and gender and toward an exploration of the ways those definitions justify or challenge existing power relations. To resort to the concept of cultural hegemony is to take a banal question—"who has power?"—and deepen it at both ends. The "who" includes parents, preachers, teachers, journalists, literati, "experts" of all sorts, as well as advertising executives, entertainment promoters, popular musicians, sports figures, and "celebrities"—all of whom are involved (albeit often unwittingly) in shaping the values and attitudes of a society. The "power" includes cultural as well as economic and political power—the power to help define the boundaries of common-sense "reality" either by ignoring views outside those boundaries or by labeling deviant opinions "tasteless" or "irresponsible." Unlike Marx's epigones, Gramsci realized that a class interpretation of history does not entail a fixation on the struggle between oppressors and oppressed; rather, as Eugene Genovese has observed, "it may reveal a process by which a given ruling class successfully avoided such confrontations."¹⁰ And the source of that success may well be in the realm of culture.

The concept of cultural hegemony offers intellectual and cultural historians an opportunity to connect ideas with the "social matrix" that they are constantly being urged to locate, without reducing the ideas to mere epiphenomena. Not that one should ransack Gramsci's writings for a foolproof schema. Anyone, for example, who looks closely at Gramsci's celebrated distinction between traditional and organic intellectuals will find it incoherent.¹¹ Still, his work offers a point of departure for trying to understand how ideas actually function in society. His concept of hegemonic consensus acknowledges differences in wealth and power even in "democracies" and seeks to show how those inequalities have been maintained or challenged in the sphere of culture. It provides a convenient vocabulary for beginning to identify those elements in the dominant culture that serve existing power relations and those that subvert them. Unlike liberal notions of consensus, Gramsci's vision acknowledges the social and economic constraints on the less powerful, then aims to see the ways that culture collaborates with those constraints.

The concept of hegemony is also superior to the more sophisticated versions of consensus embodied in functionalism, symbolic interactionism, and cultural anthropology.¹² Unlike functionalist theory, a Gramscian approach does not try to match all cultural manifestations with the demands of "the social system." It allows one to analyze the systemic features of a society characterized by inequalities of power without reducing that society to a system. Nor does Gramsci reify society into a being that has needs and interests apart from human agency; rather, he

¹⁰ Williams, *The Long Revolution* (London, 1961), 48–71; and Genovese, "A Question of Morals," in his *In Red and Black* (New York, 1970), 369.

¹¹ For an incisive critique, see Jerome Karabel, "Revolutionary Contradictions: Antonio Gramsci and the Problem of Intellectuals," *Politics and Society*, 6 (1976): esp. 146–56.

¹² For some excellent critiques of functionalism, see Maurice Stein and Arthur Vidich, eds., *Sociology on Trial* (New York, 1963). For the best statement of the symbolic interactionist position, see Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (New York, 1966). For an early critique, see Richard Lichtmann, "Symbolic Interaction and Social Reality: Some Marxist Queries," *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, 15 (1970): 75–94.

stresses the human creators of culture, with their particular, socially shaped needs and interests. Further, a Gramscian approach allows one to integrate the insights of symbolic interactionism and cultural anthropology with an awareness of power relations. Many historians have used Clifford Geertz's work, for example, to illuminate the integrative significance of cultural symbols within particular communities, but they have often failed to link those symbols with larger economic or political structures, allowing inequalities of power to be subsumed by an implicitly functionalist "cultural system."¹³ From a Gramscian perspective, that pitfall is avoidable. People indeed create their own symbolic universes (Gramsci's spontaneous philosophy) to make life understandable and tolerable, and those symbolic universes do come to have an apparently "objective" validity, particularly over generations as they spread from scattered individuals to broad social groups. But a given symbolic universe, if it becomes hegemonic, can serve the interests of some groups better than others. Subordinate groups may participate in maintaining a symbolic universe, even if it serves to legitimate their domination. In other words, they can share a kind of half-conscious complicity in their own victimization.

This complicity is a crucial implication of the concept of cultural hegemony, and it accounts for much of the hostility toward Gramsci's work among American historians of all political stripes. The idea that less powerful folk may be unwitting accomplices in the maintenance of existing inequalities runs counter to much of the social and cultural historiography of the last fifteen years, which has stressed the autonomy and vitality of subordinate cultures.¹⁴ Discovering nearly inexhaustible resources for resistance to domination, many social historians have been reluctant to acknowledge the possibility that their subjects may have been muddled by assimilation to the dominant culture—perhaps even to the point of believing and behaving against their own best interests. There is a certain irony here. Historians have long been willing to evaluate the behavior of elite leaders as mistaken, inappropriate, perhaps even perverse or irrational. (Think of the pummeling Woodrow Wilson takes every few years.) But to apply similar standards to "the people" is somehow "elitist." In part, this double standard is a reaction against C. Wright Mills and Herbert Marcuse, who inveighed against a narcotized population of "cheerful robots" and "one-dimensional men."¹⁵ These slogans were variations on the familiar theme that nonradical workers were laboring in the dim light of "false consciousness." The flexibility of Gramsci's concept of hegemony makes it superior to such formulations and compatible with the recent emphasis on distinct and vigorous working-class cultures.

To clarify that flexibility, one might imagine hegemonic cultures placed anywhere on a continuum from "closed" to "open." In the closed version,

¹³ Geertz's most influential work is collected in his *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973). For a thoughtful evaluation, see Ronald G. Walters, "Signs of the Times: Clifford Geertz and Historians," *Social Research*, 47 (1980): 537–56.

¹⁴ For three outstanding examples (among innumerable possibilities), see Herbert R. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925* (New York, 1976); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 1 (1975): 1–29; and David Montgomery, *Workers' Control in America* (New York, 1979), esp. chaps. 1, 4.

¹⁵ Mills, *White Collar: The American Middle Classes* (New York, 1951); and Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man* (Boston, 1964).

subordinate groups lack the language necessary even to conceive concerted resistance; in the open version, the capability for resistance flourishes and may lead to the creation of counterhegemonic alternatives. The place of a culture on the continuum depends on specific circumstances at a particular historical moment. For much of American history, certainly for those patches of it uncovered by recent studies of working-class culture, a more open version of hegemony seems more accurate.

Whether one imagines hegemony to be relatively open or relatively closed, the essence of the concept is not manipulation but legitimation. The ideas, values, and experiences of dominant groups are validated in public discourse; those of subordinate groups are not, though they may continue to thrive beyond the boundaries of received opinion. Where Gramsci differs from many "new" social historians is in his recognition that the line between dominant and subordinate cultures is a permeable membrane, not an impenetrable barrier. By developing the notion of "contradictory consciousness," Gramsci opened possibilities for more complex approaches to popular culture, though he never fully transcended his Leninist heritage. But before I turn to the limitations of his approach I want to explore its utility by surveying some recent studies of working-class culture.

HOW DOES A RULING CLASS RULE? The historian who has most persistently posed that question from a Gramscian perspective is Eugene Genovese. Among his many works, the monumental *Roll, Jordan, Roll* most directly examines a subordinate group consciousness. In analyzing slave culture, Genovese rejected any notion of false consciousness. He emphasized the richness and variety of slave culture, the resources it provided for dignity, solidarity, and resistance. Yet he also recognized that elements of the master's paternalistic world view penetrated the slave's consciousness as well. Slaves could appropriate paternalism to create a limited set of rights for themselves—for example, the right not to be worked too hard and not to be worked at all on Sundays. But paternalism may have also promoted the slaves' sense of attachment to a particular plantation; it limited and shaped slave protest into "pre-political" forms, directed against a particular master's practice rather than against slavery as a system of domination. Prepolitical protest (such as breaking a plough blade or running off to the woods after a beating) provided slaves with a valuable breathing space and even a sense of dignity. But it also reinforced the master's paternalistic belief that he was dealing with irresponsible children. To oversimplify a complex argument: powerlessness combined with paternalism to influence the slave's consciousness in ways that reinforced the master's hegemony. Slaves were by no means reduced to Sambos; their conduct reveals a complex combination of accommodation and resistance.¹⁶

One can find a similar relationship within white popular culture during the nineteenth century. In the works of Eric Foner, Bruce Laurie, Alan Dawley, Steven Hahn, Sean Wilentz, and others, evidence can be found of the halting, uneven

¹⁶ Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York, 1974), esp. 585–665.

emergence of a historical bloc of artisans, skilled workers, small farmers, and petty producers of all kinds. Despite regional, ethnic, and occupational differences, they shared enough social experience and perceptions of common interest to develop a coherent world view. This "producer ideology" was energized by egalitarian and communal currents that challenged developing inequalities of wealth and power. A labor theory of value promoted disdain for bankers, brokers, and other "parasites," as well as protests against the transformation of labor into a commodity controlled by an abstract market rather than by customary relationships. The producers' republican suspicion of luxury encouraged criticism of conspicuous accumulation, and their customs of moral economy and mutual obligation led to distrust of any effort to pursue individual gain at the expense of communal welfare. And all these sentiments were given political force by the egalitarian rhetoric of the Declaration of Independence. By the late nineteenth century, the producer ideology animated mass movements from the Knights of Labor to the People's party.¹⁷

Yet the producers never became hegemonic. There were obvious reasons: the other side had more guns, the Populists made a mistaken alliance with the Democrats, and so on. But this is not the whole story. The producer ideology contained contradictory elements that promoted internal divisions and pointed toward accommodation as well as resistance. As early as the Revolutionary War era, Foner observed, the debate over price control legislation revealed that many Philadelphia artisans were abandoning the communal traditions of moral economy for the entrepreneurial vision of Adam Smith. The drive to prosper through individual effort, the horror of any form of dependence, sparked challenges to domination but also eased assimilation to the dominant individualist ethos. Evangelical revivalists, interpreting economic depressions as moral judgments, responded to and reinforced that ethos. Individualism blurred class distinctions and propelled workers into the arms of middle-class radicals who focused on financiers rather than employers and worked through existing political institutions. That strategy was understandable. Dawley observed that the earliest generations of workers won political democracy before they experienced the worst effects of industrial capitalism; it is not surprising that they viewed voting as a panacea and the government as "the executive committee of the people." The problem was that working-class leaders grew "unable to look beyond victory at the polls toward programs that would infringe upon the rights of property and effectively redistribute wealth to bring about the equality [they] so passionately desired."¹⁸

¹⁷ Foner, *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America* (New York, 1976), esp. chap. 5, and "Abolitionism and the Labor Movement" in his *Politics and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War* (New York, 1980), esp. 74–76; Laurie, *The Working People of Philadelphia, 1800–1850* (Philadelphia, 1980); Dawley, *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976); Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850–1890* (New York, 1983); and Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850* (New York, 1984). Also see, among many other studies, Paul Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers in the Early Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts, 1780–1860* (Albany, N.Y., 1981); and Milton Cantor, ed., *American Working-Class Culture* (Westport, Conn., 1979).

¹⁸ Dawley, *Class and Community*, 72, 207; Foner, *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America*, 41, 157; and Laurie, *Working People of Philadelphia*, 119, 172, 197–203.

Entrepreneurial ambitions, evangelical religion, a preoccupation with electoral politics—none of these was a mistaken path for an individual to follow. But they constituted powerful countertendencies within the producer ideology, which often subverted its egalitarian and communal aims. It is possible to see the producer ideology as evidence for Gramsci's "contradictory consciousness." This is not to deny that workers felt class hatred, or to imply that they were only dimly aware of what their employers were up to. Nor is it to suggest that the dominant entrepreneurial ethos was foreign to workers' everyday experience, as Gramsci apparently would have claimed. It does suggest that subordinate groups could identify with the dominant culture—often for sound reasons—even as they sought to challenge it. And the challenge could be undermined by that identification.

To make this sort of argument is to resurrect the much-maligned ghost of "consensus history." One does not have to embrace the fantastic vision of a conflict-free American past to acknowledge the power of the currents in the American mainstream. The most penetrating historiography of the 1950s—the work of Richard Hofstadter, for example—was less a celebration than an unsparing critique of the consensus and its absorptive capacities. To escape the dualisms of progressive historiography, Hofstadter wanted to show how often champions of "the people" collaborated in the entrepreneurial culture they claimed to transcend. For Hofstadter, who admired authentic dissent on the rare occasions he found it, the American consensus was not pluralistic but hegemonic.¹⁹

Not that Hofstadter was a Gramscian *malgré lui*. Deft as he was at exploring the assimilative powers of the entrepreneurial ethos, he never grasped the seriousness of the efforts to create alternatives. Nowhere is this clearer than in his dismissive treatment of Populism in *The Age of Reform*, where the only alternative to the "commercial realities" of rural experience is a treachery "agrarian myth" concocted by Eastern literati and imbibed by fuddled farmers. In recent years Lawrence Goodwyn has revealed the depth and vigor of Populism as a mass-based democratic challenge to a hierarchical political culture. His argument is powerful and convincing, but it might have been rendered more theoretically coherent in a Gramscian idiom. Goodwyn knew that class analysis does little to illuminate Populist insurgency, he knew it was an extraordinary social formation with cultural as well as economic roots, and he knew that the failure of the movement involved more than an uneven power struggle. To be sure, one must give an account of stolen elections, race-baiting demagogues, and intransigent bankers—the sort of account C. Vann Woodward offered with elegance and authority in *Origins of the New South*. But Goodwyn also stressed the critical importance of hegemonic and counterhegemonic cultural patterns. Wherever the plain people could "see themselves" experimenting in democratic forms" (as in Texas), the Populist movement flourished. Wherever it was largely an affair of local political elites (as in Nebraska), the movement was far more easily assimilated to the "received culture" of entrepreneurial aspiration, "sound money," sectional animosity, and inherited party loyalty. By 1896 the received culture (with help from force, fraud,

¹⁹ This is especially apparent in Hofstadter's *The American Political Tradition* (New York, 1948).

and Populist tactical blunders) had blunted the Populist thrust toward democratic cultural options. The central Populist tenet—the idea of a democratically managed currency—had been rendered “culturally inadmissible” to public discourse. The constriction of debate was not the result of systematic repression. “Martial law was not declared, no dissenting editors were exiled, and no newspapers censored,” Goodwyn wrote. Yet among many dissenters after 1896 there was “a kind of acquiescence that matured into settled resignation,” a tendency to accept a hierarchical political culture as somehow “inevitable.” Goodwyn has provided a subtle account of the role played by “divided consciousness” in the rise and fall of a mass democratic movement.²⁰

In the twentieth century, working-class attitudes seem to approximate even more closely Gramsci's notion of divided consciousness. Most sociological studies of working-class Americans in the post-World War II era suggest that their participation in a national consensus has been limited and ambiguous. Summarizing survey data in 1970, Michael Mann concluded, “It is not value-consensus which keeps the working class compliant, but rather a *lack* of consensus in the crucial area where concrete experiences and vague populism might be translated into radical politics.” Schools and mass media, implicitly denying class or group conflict, have presented a picture of competitive strivers within a benevolent nation-state. Rather than engage in indoctrination, “the liberal democratic state” has perpetuated “values that do not aid the working class to interpret the reality it actually experiences.” In other words, values rooted in the workers' everyday experience lack legitimacy.²¹ As Gramsci understood, the hegemonic culture depends not on the brainwashing of “the masses” but on the tendency of public discourse to make some forms of experience readily available to consciousness while ignoring or suppressing others.

One result of this process, recently documented by Paul Kleppner, is that during the twentieth century working-class Americans have become progressively disengaged from national elections. This is not to say that they have developed immunity to dominant values. According to Mann, working-class people tend to embrace dominant values as abstract propositions but often grow skeptical as the values are applied to their everyday lives. They endorse the idea that everyone has an equal chance of success in America but deny it when asked to compare themselves with the lawyer or businessman across town.²²

Richard Sennett and Jonathan Cobb explored the psychic significance of this ambivalence in *The Hidden Injuries of Class*. Their respondents knew quite well that there were class inequalities in America, that rewards were distributed unfairly. And they had their own resources for dignity and solidarity. Yet they could not

²⁰ Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (New York, 1955), 23–59; Goodwyn, *The Populist Moment* (New York, 1978), xxix, 266, 270; and Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913* (Baton Rouge, La., 1951). For a more detailed account, see Goodwyn's *Democratic Promise: The Populist Moment in America* (New York, 1976). Valeria Gennaro Lerda interpreted Populism in an explicitly Gramscian framework as a developing “historical bloc.” See Lerda, *Il populismo americano* (Genoa, 1981).

²¹ Mann, “The Social Cohesion of Liberal Democracy,” *American Sociological Review*, 35 (1970): 423–39. Also see James D. Wright, *The Dissent of the Governed* (New York, 1976).

²² Kleppner, *Who Voted? The Dynamics of Electoral Turnout, 1870–1980* (New York, 1982); and Mann, “Social Cohesion of Liberal Democracy,” 435–39.

escape the effect of dominant values: they deemed their class inferiority a sign of personal failure, even as many realized they had been constrained by class origins that they could not control. In one breath, a garbage collector told the interviewer: "Never learning to read good . . . it was out of my hands . . . I mean I wanted to, but I got bad breaks." In the next breath, the same man said: "Look, I know it's nobody's fault but mine that I got stuck here where I am, I mean . . . if I wasn't such a dumb shit . . . no, it ain't that neither . . . if I'd applied myself, I know I got it in me to be different, can't say anyone did it to me." Even if this man was simply saying what he thought a college professor wanted to hear, that desire to please would itself be evidence for divided consciousness. *Hidden Injuries* implies that workers have internalized a class struggle in their own minds, punishing themselves for their failure to acquire the culture's badges of ability even as they recognize that those badges are often a sham. Gramsci's conception of subordinate group consciousness seems to be borne out by much available evidence.²³

But it would be a mistake to dismiss Gramsci's critics too quickly. Gramsci was, after all, a revolutionary strategist. Despite the complexity of his view of working-class consciousness, he did not entirely exorcise the demon of false consciousness. He distinguished invidiously between the existing cultural commitments of workers and those they would form in an imagined revolutionary future. He believed that the working class would somehow generate its own "organic intellectuals" who would acknowledge their class ties and cooperate with workers in transforming inchoate discontent into revolutionary proletarian consciousness. This "rational" outlook would be based on the "authentic" interests of workers, which he thought would dictate a struggle for economic and political power. Despite his assault on "economism," Gramsci still assumed that the need for power in the public sphere was more fundamental than needs fulfilled in the "so-called private" sphere and that the social bonds of class were ultimately more genuine than those of family, community, and religion. His notion of "contradictory consciousness" was hobbled by a rationalist psychology and a revolutionary teleology. He could not approach workers' discontent as historical evidence open to a variety of interpretations; he saw it as a sign of "embryonic" class consciousness (just as Genovese viewed slave protest as "pre-political"). His revolutionary commitment both energized and narrowed his vision.²⁴

These difficulties have led some historians to charge that Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony is not a "falsifiable hypothesis." If one assumes that workers ought to be class-conscious revolutionaries, then all evidence of their nonradicalism can be fitted into the same mould as a demonstration of the success of ruling-class hegemony. From this view the concept of cultural hegemony is an airtight scheme not subject to disproof by contrary evidence. Between the poles

²³ Sennett and Cobb, *The Hidden Injuries of Class* (New York, 1972), 77–96, 151–53. For similar evidence, see Eli Chinoy, *Auto Workers and the American Dream* (New York, 1955).

²⁴ Adamson cogently addressed some of these issues; *Hegemony and Revolution*, 235–45. Gramsci's rationalism also helps explain some aspects of his thought that the contemporary Left might find disagreeable, such as his enthusiasm for Taylorized "scientific management" or his statist vision of a "regulated society" emerging "after the revolution."

of revolution and false consciousness, Marxist teleology closes off a wide range of counterevidence. This argument deserves some attention.²⁵

THE PHRASE "FALSIFIABLE HYPOTHESIS" jars immediately because it calls to mind the silly analogies historians have long been tempted to make between their craft and the physical sciences. Strict falsifiability is virtually impossible in the writing of history, especially with respect to questions of consciousness. But I will grant that the historian should be open to the possibility of "bad news"; evidence contrary to his interpretation should at least be conceivable. If Marxist teleology prevents the falsification of hegemony, then we can drop the teleology and ask what kind of empirical bad news would discredit the concept of hegemony? The first possibility is rule through force rather than consent. There is evidence for this view scattered throughout American history. At particular times and places, one can argue that the dominant historical bloc had not established a hegemonic culture and therefore turned to violence to protect its interests. The period from 1877 to 1919, for example, offers abundant evidence that subordinate groups did not consent to the hegemony of industrial capitalism. But this is consistent with Gramsci's larger scheme: ruling groups resort to force when their hegemony breaks down or when it has not yet been established. To discredit hegemony from this "conflict" perspective, one would have to assert that even during times of social peace subordinate groups were entirely estranged from dominant values and kept from rebellion only by the superior power of their oppressors. This argument may apply to closed caste systems or to police states (even there it slights the role of acquiescent consciousness), but, when applied to developed capitalist societies, it is absurd.

A more formidable alternative is the possibility of genuine consensus, characterized by open debate on fundamental issues. From this particular perspective, all interests are articulated in public discourse until consensus emerges; individuals choose freely to support the consensus in pursuit of their own self-interest, registering their decision in elections. Recently Carl Degler applied this view to the antebellum South. His argument highlights the ambiguities of terms like "consensus" and "interest." Degler attacked Genovese's notion that the southern planter class, having achieved cultural hegemony, was able to identify its own interests with those of society at large. "What we have not been told by proponents of hegemony is how we know it was the planting class's hegemony that accounted for the identification of interest rather than the *actual self-interest* of the nonslaveholders," Degler complained. "To someone who does not accept hegemony as an explanation, it seems quite plausible that the interests of

²⁵ Kraditor made this argument most pointedly; *Radical Persuasion*, 65. Also see Carl Degler, *Place Over Time: The Continuity of Southern Distinctiveness* (Baton Rouge, La., 1977), 73. Robert Westbrook's thoughtful review of Kraditor has influenced my thinking on a number of points. See Westbrook, "Good-bye to All That: Aileen Kraditor and Radical History," *Radical History Review*, 28-30 (1984): 69-89. Strictly speaking, the critics are correct: every organized society is directed by a hegemonic group, though some forms of hegemony can be more democratic than others. But clearly the critics' target is a narrower meaning of hegemony: the hypothesis that the elite exercise cultural as well as economic and political power over an entire society.

nonslaveholders and planters, as each defines them for himself, are at least parallel, not antagonistic." One has to prove the existence of class antagonism, not assume it, and, to show the existence of hegemony, one has to produce empirical evidence that alternative courses of action would have more genuinely served the interests of nonslaveholders.²⁶

There are several problems with this argument. Assuming the economic rationality and free choice of nonslaveholders, Degler sidestepped the thorny question of how culture and psychology shape definitions of self-interest, as well as the inner and outer constraints on human action. How free were nonslaveholders to oppose slavery when the subject was beyond discussion in nearly every southern state? Their outlook was shaped not only by economic rationality but also by the spontaneous philosophy of their time and place—racial pride and fear, deference and democracy, "southern honor." Even granting a measure of rationality, what looks like the pursuit of self-interest may only make a virtue of necessity.

In any case, one does not have to deny that slavery served nonslaveholder self-interest. Gramsci's notion of a hegemonic historical bloc implies that its leaders forged alliances based on economic as well as cultural ties. Many yeomen, particularly in the Black Belt, had an interest in preserving dependent relations with the planters.²⁷ The problem turns on the ambiguity of "interest"—is it short or long term, individual or collective, economic or something more complex? Degler did not address that question.

On the matter of counterevidence, there is a great deal (particularly in WPA narratives) to suggest widespread class hostility between yeomen and planters as well as to induce a belief among historians that opposition to slavery might have better served the nonslaveholders' interest—however one defines that slippery term. As Hahn observed, "Political democratization was possible only because slavery did not present itself as an issue." To explain why slavery became a nonissue, historians have usually gestured toward the planters' power in the state legislatures. The concept of hegemony highlights their power in the cultural realm. If antislavery was placed beyond discussion, the narrowness of political discourse would serve to protect the property base of the ruling groups—slavery. That, as Genovese observed, is "all a hegemonic politics is supposed to do." But how was the task accomplished? Alongside systematic suppression of dissent, subtler processes may have been at work—ambivalent self-censorship among planters, grudging acquiescence among small landowners of the Piedmont. And these may have contributed to the closing of counterhegemonic alternatives.²⁸

²⁶ Degler, *Place Over Time*, 80–81. To demonstrate the existence of free debate, Degler mentioned the Kentucky emancipation referendum of 1849, which does show that slavery was not beyond discussion in that state, but it may be the exception that proves the rule. In any case, using elections as examples of consensus does not confront the other problems mentioned in the following paragraph.

²⁷ Hahn, *Roots of Southern Populism*, 50, 52, 84–85, 90–91.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 110; Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene Genovese, "Yeomen Farmers in a Slaveholders' Democracy," in their *Fruits of Merchant Capital* (New York, 1983), 262; and George P. Rawick, ed., *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, 19 vols. (Westport, Conn., 1972), 7: 354, 18: 215, 15: 273–74, 319, 17: 13, 328.

The larger point is this: historians do not have to assume false consciousness to suggest the possibility of false (or hegemonic) consensus. Degler's argument for genuine consensus rests on the unproven assumption that action reveals free choice and individual preference.²⁹ True consciousness replaces false consciousness but remains one-dimensional. Neither view recognizes the problematic nature of human interests.

When we turn from yeoman and planter to labor and capital, it is less difficult to establish a clear conflict of economic interests. As Dawley said: "In any marketplace transaction, buyers and sellers have opposing interests. As buyers of labor, manufacturers had a common interest among themselves which was opposed to the common interest of workers, as sellers. If the wage bargain between manufacturers and workers had been mutually beneficial, then the conflict of interest would have been historically insignificant. But the bargain was unequal."³⁰ The question then arises: were there other, more compelling interests outside the economic sphere?

Aileen Kraditor thought so and argued the point in *The Radical Persuasion*. Much of her animus is directed against the concept of cultural hegemony. In her view the concept denies the segmented, discontinuous character of American society, substituting a monolithic system whose parts are subsumed in a hegemonic whole directed by a ruling class.³¹ The charge may apply to some of the sectarians she skewered in her footnotes, but not to Gramsci. Even though he devalued the private realm and stressed its penetration by dominant values, the major tendency of his prison notebooks is to reject system and emphasize the relative autonomy of cultural, economic, and political spheres.

But Kraditor had other arrows in her quiver. Announcing that hegemony is not a falsifiable hypothesis, she then attempted to falsify it in two ways. First, she argued that 1890–1917 was a "shake-up period" when massive industrial combinations rose to power but by no means exercised cultural hegemony. The arrogance and brutality embodied in corporate capital provoked a wide variety of Americans into organizing to limit the new forms of power.³² This argument is accurate but not inconsistent with a Gramscian view of the late nineteenth century as a period when corporate leaders constituted a historical bloc in the process of overcoming potential counterhegemonies (Populists, Socialists, Knights of Labor) and of negotiating cross-class alliances in order to create a new hegemonic culture.

Kraditor's other criticism of hegemony involves a variation on the theme of consensus. She argued that workers chose to accept dehumanization in the workplace in exchange for autonomy in the private sphere. Having decided that their emotional and spiritual interests outweighed their economic interests, workers remained deaf to socialist appeals. Viewing their work instrumentally, they willingly embraced the dominant social order because it allowed them to

²⁹ On the weaknesses of the theory of "revealed preference," see Craig Calhoun, *The Question of Class Struggle* (Chicago, 1982), 211.

³⁰ Dawley, *Class and Community*, 174.

³¹ Kraditor, *Radical Persuasion*, 66–71, 88, 90.

³² *Ibid.*, 63–64, 71–85, 95–96.

preserve their most cherished values in the "mediating institutions" of family, community, and religion.³³

The argument raises important points. Kraditor rightly stressed that there are subjective needs that may be more "real" than class interests and that not all cultural forms can be pigeonholed as accommodation or resistance to capitalism. Even the remnants of the idea of false consciousness in Gramsci can make it difficult to examine "the intrinsic truth or appeal of the idea in question"—that is, the subjective needs culture actually serves.³⁴ Kraditor rejected the quest for embryonic class consciousness and tried to take the private sphere on its own terms.

But she could have given the argument a further turn by acknowledging the possibility that the private sphere can do more than provide a haven in a heartless world. It can also nurture radical challenges to capitalism. The sociologist Craig Calhoun has argued that, as capitalist-style modernization encroached on everyday life in England, customary social bonds and nonrational impulses proved more effective in promoting resistance than the rational perception of class interest. The shift from communal to class consciousness attenuated social bonds and encouraged reformism rather than radicalism. His conclusion has global reach: the most radical anticapitalist protests have been rooted not in Marxist universalism but in local traditions undermined by industrialization.³⁵ This finding has been implicit in much of the social history of the last fifteen years. It suggests that Gramsci's persistent rationalism may have led him to misperceive the roots of radicalism, overlooking the messiness of existent working-class culture in his zeal for the clean, bold lines of the proletarian future.

Although Kraditor jettisoned her Gramscian baggage, she, too, remained a rationalist. Insisting that workers had a conscious choice, she overlooked the possibility that their refusal to embrace a vague and threatening revolutionary future may not have implied embrace of the established order; they may simply have been making the best of a bad lot. Attacking Gramsci for denying "John Q. Worker's full consciousness of what he was doing," she replaced false consciousness with true consciousness. Her naive voluntarism neglected to note that people may be confused or ambivalent and still retain "rationality and purposefulness." John Q. Worker was not fully conscious of what he was doing; no one is.³⁶

There is a further problem. Reacting against "System-thinking," Kraditor (along with some of the social historians on whose work she relied) displayed an extraordinary faith in people's capacity to compartmentalize existence. Although she referred to the "partial autonomy" of the private sphere, it is apparent she regarded that terrain as a sanctuary undefiled by the dominant culture. One does not need to regard workers as passive victims to reject this view. If Calhoun is right, the incursions of capitalist institutions into the private sphere have provoked the most vigorous forms of resistance. A glance at Jane Addams on generational

³³ *Ibid.*, 66, 279, 294, 301–17.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 66, 369–70 n. 28.

³⁵ Calhoun, *Question of Class Struggle*, esp. chap. 8. For a thoughtful effort to formulate class consciousness in historical rather than "essentialist" terms, see Sean Wilentz, "Against Exceptionalism: Class-Consciousness and the American Labor Movement, 1790–1820," *International Labor and Working Class History*, 26 (1984): 1–24.

³⁶ Kraditor, *Radical Persuasion*, 66, 152.

conflict between immigrants or Robert and Helen Lynd on “the long arm of the job” in Middletown further reveals how difficult, if not impossible, it has been for working-class people to preserve an autonomous cultural domain.³⁷

Kraditor’s work, like Degler’s, shows that neither consensus nor hegemony is an easily falsified hypothesis. In that sense the empiricist critique has a point, but it applies to almost any historical interpretation that tries to illuminate a wide range of human experience. And yet the concept of hegemony may at least be falsifiable in principle. John Gaventa argued that case in *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*.

Gaventa began by observing that a lack of expressed grievances may not mean genuine consensus; the most effective use of power may be to prevent grievances from arising in the first place. “A consistently expressed consensus is not required for the maintenance of dominant interests, only a consistency that certain potentially key issues remain latent issues and that certain interests remain unrecognized—at certain times more than at others.” But how can one observe nondecisions, analyze nonissues, and study what does not happen?³⁸

Gaventa wanted to answer that question yet keep his empiricist credentials intact. Focusing on the domination of the Yellow Creek Valley in West Virginia by the American Association (a British and later multinational coal company), he began with a testable hypothesis: the quiescence of Appalachian miners, far from reflecting consensus, resulted from the exercise of cultural hegemony by coal companies and local elites. He needed to show that policies of development were promoted by a powerful minority rather than the powerless majority, that the miners were not free to accept or reject the new economic conditions those policies produced, and that they would have thought and acted differently but for the power arrayed against them.³⁹

The first two claims are easily demonstrated; the third is more problematic. Gaventa elaborated it by investigating what the Yellow Creek miners did when company power weakened or third parties intervened and what miners in other Appalachian localities did when faced with similar conditions. In each case he found resistance. During the 1890s, when the company was forced into bankruptcy and internal reorganization, the prodevelopment consensus broke down. During the 1930s, when the Communist party and the ACLU intervened in behalf of unemployed miners, widespread anticompany protests surfaced. The same was true of the 1960s, when government agencies tried to ensure “maximum feasible participation” by local communities in the distribution of federal antipoverty funds. Throughout the century, resistance flared intermittently in other valleys outside Yellow Creek. Yet at nearly every point the miners’ protests were ineffectual and short-lived. They failed, Gaventa claimed, not only because the other side resorted to force but also because the experience of powerlessness had

³⁷ Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (New York, 1910), 231–50, 252–53; and Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown* (New York, 1929), chap. 7.

³⁸ Gaventa, *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley* (Urbana, Ill., 1980), chap. 1, esp. p. 19.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 25–29.

inculcated a spirit of acquiescence within the mining communities. Like the workers interviewed by Sennett and Cobb, the miners internalized the dominant culture even as they saw through its pretensions. "Although the mountaineers suggest that [their forefathers'] land was stolen by the [coal company] agents, they consider these matters to be examples not of exploitation but of their forefathers' 'ignorance' or 'poor doings.'"⁴⁰

In exploring this version of a Gramscian "contradictory consciousness," Gaventa recognized the difficulty of defining the miners' interests. If free to do so, subordinate groups would choose their real interests, which, he declared, do not have to be identified in order to study the cultural dimensions of power. The historian can postulate a variety of plausible interests for a given subordinate group, then show that the group was prevented from acting on or even conceiving those interests. That, in Gaventa's view, is sufficient to show that an apparent consensus does not express the actual interests of subordinates, even though it may serve their immediate need for maintaining good relations with existing elites.⁴¹

Unavoidably, it seems, we are returned to the idiom of "interests" and "needs." And here even Gaventa's approach, for all its strengths, is thinner and flatter than it might be. Like most social scientists, he is more interested in groups than in individuals, more concerned with self-interest rationally conceived than with the unpredictable depths of the human psyche. So it is not surprising that he overlooked the questions posed by Dostoevskii's half-mad but preternaturally prescient narrator in *Notes from the Underground* over a century ago.

When in all these thousands of years has there been a time when man has acted only from his own interest? What is to be done with the millions of facts that men, *consciously*, that is fully understanding their real interests, have left them in the background and have rushed headlong on another path, to meet peril and danger, compelled to this course by nobody and by nothing, but, as it were, simply disliking the beaten track, and have obstinately, willfully, struck out another difficult, absurd way, seeking it almost in the darkness. So, I suppose, this obstinacy and perversity were pleasanter to them than any advantage. . . . Advantage! What is advantage?⁴²

Like the rationalists of Dostoevskii's time, contemporary social scientists have been inclined to take their "whole register of human advantages from the averages of statistical figures and politico-economic formulas." Their lists have always included "prosperity, wealth, freedom, peace" but rarely the perversity that might undermine a person's willingness to secure those goals even as he consciously salutes them.

It is a bit much, though, to require every historian to cultivate the imagination of a Dostoevskii. Within the limits of its genre, Gaventa's conception of the miners' interest does overcome the shortcomings of most Marxist or liberal formulations.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁴² Fedor Dostoevskii, *Notes from the Underground*, in Constance Garnett, trans., *Three Short Novels of Dostoevsky* (New York, 1960), 196–97. The whole question of "needs" and "interests" requires some imaginative rethinking. For a comprehensive review of the literature from Plato to the present, see Patricia Springborg, *The Problem of Human Needs and the Critique of Civilization* (London, 1981).

The narrowness of those approaches becomes apparent in Gaventa's account of outsider intervention in the 1930s. The Communists assumed that the militant response of the miners to economic conditions implied an equally vehement rejection of their fundamentalist Protestant culture. But for miners, religion was not an opiate; it was the only form of collective organization they had been allowed for decades. Communists were fixated on economic issues, liberals on civil liberties. Both groups held the miners' culture in contempt. Local elites realized that the miners' interests involved more than free speech and economic redistribution; in combatting the outsiders, they could address local pride, fears of communism, longings for a righteous community. The hegemony of Appalachian elites involved an appeal to resonant cultural symbols.⁴³

Despite the care Gaventa devoted to developing a testable concept of cultural hegemony, his argument remains somehow unsatisfying. The whole debate over falsifiability often seems to rest on the empiricist fallacy that what cannot be precisely observed and measured does not exist. The empiricist tradition can check dogmatic assertion but also impoverish historical imagination. To assess the significance of a given event, the historian may need to rethink the larger process in which it occurred. (Thoughts, sentiments, prejudices are all "events" from my perspective.) By imagining what might have occurred in the absence or variation of the event, the historian can more fully appreciate its place in the configuration that actually formed. A fuller understanding of the past "as it really happened" may sometimes require inquiry into unrealized or resisted possibilities. In the case of cultural hegemony, one does not need to imagine the only unrealized alternative to be Jürgen Habermas's "ideal speech situation"—where communication is open, transparent, undistorted by hierarchies. That notion can hardly be considered a possibility in any sense. Staying closer to the empiricist tradition, the historian can explore unrealized past possibilities by thinking through a text or body of thought to its "unthought" implications. This is part of the agenda behind Barbara Taylor's examination of the feminist strain in Owenite socialism that was ignored or repressed in later forms of socialism. My own desire to think the unthought possibilities of antimodern dissent animated my exploration of an often-inchoate antimodernism among middle- and upper-class Americans at the turn of the century. This approach can degenerate into a search for a usable past. But it can also illuminate a hegemonic culture by recovering alternatives that were no less real because they were submerged or silent.⁴⁴

⁴³ Gaventa, *Power and Powerlessness*, 115–16.

⁴⁴ On the use of hypothetical nonoccurrences, see Max Weber, "Critical Studies in the Logic of the Cultural Sciences," in Edward Shils and Henry Finch, eds., *The Methodology of the Social Sciences* (Glencoe, Ill., 1949), esp. 164–88. On "thinking the unthought," see Martin Heidegger, *Identity and Difference*, ed. and trans. Joan Stambaugh (Harper Torchbook edn., New York, 1974), esp. 48. I am indebted to Dominick LaCapra's lucid comments on these problems. See LaCapra, "Rethinking Intellectual History and Reading Texts," in his *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983), 31–32. The examples I mention are in Barbara Taylor's *Eve and the New Jerusalem* (New York, 1983) and my *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920* (New York, 1981). For Habermas's most succinct summary of his ideal speech situation, see his "What Is Universal Pragmatics?" in his *Communication and the Evolution of Society*, trans. Thomas McCarthy (Boston, 1979), esp. 63. For a valuable review of the issues, see Martin Jay, "Should Intellectual History Take a Linguistic Turn? Reflections on the Habermas-Gadamer

If the social history of the last fifteen years has taught us anything, it is the ambiguity of that silence. What official or public discourse left unmentioned was often eloquently discussed around kitchen tables, in saloons, in slave quarters. Yet too frequently those discussions have been treated in isolation. What is needed, Thomas Bender observed, is "a simultaneous embrace of the public and private—and the way meanings move back and forth between them. . . . We must examine with greater focus than we have the interplay of private talk and public talk, private talk and public silence, public talk and private silence."⁴⁵ Bender's observation suggests a recasting of the problem of falsifiability. Social historians have shown that a wide range of cultural meanings—derived from the *gemeinschaftliche* worlds of family, community, and faith—was often denied entry into public discourse. What needs to be explored with greater precision is how this hegemonic process occurred at crucial moments, such as the final debate over American entry into World War I, when the vast majority of congressmen chose to disregard their constituents' opposition to the war and voted with the president.⁴⁶ In this and other policy matters, one way to falsify the hypothesis of hegemony is to demonstrate the existence of genuinely pluralistic debate; one way to substantiate it is to discover what was left out of public debate and to account historically for those silences.

Yet even if the concept of cultural hegemony can be rendered falsifiable and disentangled from crude notions of false consciousness, other problems remain. Some stem from the schematic cast of mind that sometimes surfaced in Gramsci: the bipolar model of hegemony and domination, the rationalist psychology that stressed intentionality and slighted unintended consequences. Other difficulties involve the ambiguities surrounding certain key implications: the relative autonomy of spheres, the variety of ways that hegemonic values can affect different cultural texts. By considering these problems, I hope to suggest possibilities for a more flexible concept of cultural hegemony.

GRAMSCI NEGLECTED THE VARIETY OF CONSTRAINTS (such as the fear of unemployment) that could exist between the poles of force and consent and sometimes formulated his case so starkly that he provided a warrant for oversimplified models of class domination. Even Genovese, for all his sensitivity in developing the concept of hegemony, has been criticized for presenting a static, monolithic image of planter-class rule in the Old South. Gramsci's own emphasis on the constant formation and reformation of alliances within historical blocs points toward more dynamic approaches. Rhys Isaac, though inspired by Geertz rather than Gramsci,

Debate," in Dominick LaCapra and Steven L. Kaplan, eds., *Modern European Intellectual History: Reappraisals and New Perspectives* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982), 86–110.

⁴⁵ Bender, "Comment," on T. J. Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities," paper presented at the Seventy-Seventh Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, held in Los Angeles, Calif., April 4–7, 1984.

⁴⁶ To my knowledge, no congressional supporter of American entry into World War I ever claimed that a majority of the population supported it, and even historians sympathetic to Wilson, such as Arthur Link, have acknowledged that a popular referendum might well have gone against the president. See Link, *Wilson: Campaigns for Progressivism and Peace, 1916–1917* (Princeton, 1965), esp. 429 n. 103. Also see David P. Thelen, *Robert M. LaFollette and the Insurgent Spirit* (New York, 1976), 131–32.

transcended the implicit functionalism of Geertz in a brilliant example of how a historian may analyze a hegemonic culture in transition. In *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790*, Isaac showed how a traditional culture sanctioning deference and display gave ground before a popular evangelical ethos promoting contractual social relations, ascetic self-denial, and domestic privacy. The process was gradual, halting, and never complete. Vestiges of the old culture survived in the new. Yet a new historical bloc emerged, successfully challenged traditional sources of authority, and promoted more democratic and bourgeois forms of cultural hegemony.⁴⁷

The compatibility of the Isaac and Gramsci viewpoints should dispel the idea that hegemony is a model of social control from the top down. On the contrary, new forms of cultural hegemony can bubble up from below, as historical blocs fashion a world view with wide appeal. The Virginia evangelicals translated their spiritual outlook into a regenerative creed, which took its most dramatic political form in the speeches of Patrick Henry. In *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, Keith Thomas described a similar process in seventeenth-century England, as an antimagical ideology of self-help emerged among the middling sort and gradually became the cornerstone of a developing hegemonic culture. The decline of magic was the work not only of a scientific elite but also of the shopkeepers and small farmers, like the man who declared “his mare will make as good holy water as any priest can.” Other, more oblique influences can also be traced from below. Dominant groups can revitalize a hegemonic culture by incorporating what they imagine to be the instinctual vitality of the lower orders—as, for example, during the late nineteenth century when neurasthenic Americans were urged to adopt a more relaxed pace of life by emulating “Oriental people, the inhabitants of the tropics, and the colored peoples generally.” No top-down model of domination can explain the complex growth, dissolution, or transformation of hegemonic cultures.⁴⁸

Yet the tendency to confuse hegemony with social control persists. It is possible for Stuart Ewen to invoke Gramsci’s name in support of his conspiratorial interpretation of American advertising, wherein ad executives become master manipulators of mass culture.⁴⁹ The problem with this view is not that it is completely false but that it provides an easy target for those who want to deny hegemony altogether. To avoid getting shot down, proponents of hegemony should beware of attributing a single mentality to large institutions. In universities, newspapers, even advertising agencies, there may be conflicts between commercial and cultural objectives and internecine power struggles that have little to do with ideology. Closer attention to these internal processes would reveal more about how

⁴⁷ Anderson, “Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci,” 25–26; interview with Herbert Gutman in Henry Abelove, Betsy Blackmar, Peter Dimock, and Jonathan Schneer, eds., *Visions of History* (New York, 1983), 209–10; and Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982). Isaac referred to the “cultural hegemony” of the gentry on page 137.

⁴⁸ Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia*, 266; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York, 1971), 147; and Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 52.

⁴⁹ Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture* (New York, 1975), 133.

hegemonic values are produced in the complex organizations that have shaped modern culture.

Another way to escape from the dead end of social control is to abandon any assumption that there is a straight line linking intentions, actions, and effects. An emphasis on the unintended consequences of purposive social action was popularized by Robert Merton half a century ago; it also pervades the ironist tradition of American historiography from Henry Adams to Perry Miller. But David Brion Davis was the first to adapt it to Gramscian purposes. In *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, Davis showed how antislavery agitators unwittingly promoted new forms of cultural hegemony. By ignoring the emergent "wage slavery" in factories and defining labor exploitation solely in terms of the master-slave relationship, abolitionists helped legitimize the capitalist organization of labor and reinforce the spread of bourgeois cultural hegemony. This was not their conscious goal, Davis insisted, but an unintended by-product of actions aimed at other ends.⁵⁰

One can give a further turn to the idea of unintended consequences by stressing the importance of half-conscious psychic needs that seem far removed from the public realm of class relations but may serve to revitalize or transform a hegemonic culture. Racial and sexual fears offer some pervasive examples of this functional "irrationality"; so do the fictive and fantastic elements in the consumer culture promoted by advertising and mass media. And *fin-de-siècle* antimodernism, which was often rooted in idiosyncratic longings for authentic experience, nevertheless helped accelerate the spread of a therapeutic world view well suited to the secular, corporate society emerging around the turn of the century. Private needs had public consequences: they helped accelerate the rise of a new hegemonic culture.⁵¹

If private needs have public consequences, how autonomous are the spheres of social life? Their boundaries seem discernible only in specific historical circumstances. Personal frustration or fulfillment can resonate in a variety of ways, promoting change within a dominant culture or challenges from outside it. The desire to preserve customary bonds with neighbors and kin, the yearning for salvation, the longing to please parental authority or rebel against it—these private concerns can have radical or reactionary results in public. Yet many cultural forms can also have a vigorous and complex life apart from accommodation or resistance to the dominant social order.

⁵⁰ Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1974), esp. 349–50. For the classic formulation, see R. K. Merton, "The Unanticipated Consequences of Purposive Social Action," *American Sociological Review*, 1 (1936): 894–904. Also see his *Social Theory and Social Structure* (London, 1957), 51, 61–62, 66, 128, 563, 597.

⁵¹ Lears, *No Place of Grace*, esp. chaps. 3, 4, 6. For a similar argument, see my "From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of the Consumer Culture, 1880–1930," in Richard Wightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears, eds., *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880–1980* (New York, 1983), 30–38. Ronald T. Takaki stressed the hegemonic role of racism. See Takaki, *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1979). On advertising, see my "Some Versions of Fantasy: Toward a Cultural History of American Advertising," in Jack Salzman, ed., *Prospects: An Annual of American Cultural Studies* (New York, 1984), 349–405. Steven Watts has provided many suggestive insights into the unintended hegemonic consequences of half-conscious psychic needs; Watts, *The Republic Reborn: War and the Making of Liberal America, 1790–1820* (Baltimore, forthcoming).

To chart the largely unexplored territory where public and private meet, historians may need to devote more detailed attention to the acculturation process. One model study is Steven Stowe's account of planter-class families in the antebellum South. Informed but not imprisoned by the psychoanalytic tradition, it provides valuable insights into how elite boys and girls became men and women under particular historical circumstances. The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, in his work on public education and popular taste, has opened less intimate areas of cultural reproduction to critical scrutiny. Closer to home, David Tyack and Elizabeth Hansot have effectively focused on the intersection between American public education and business culture, tracing the emergence of "scientific management" in educational administration and observing that "what was not on the agenda" of professional educators "was often as important as what was." And William R. Taylor, focusing on the transformation of public space in New York City during the Progressive era, has shown how the built environment can be designed to serve acculturating purposes, for example, the assimilation of immigrants through exposure to gargantuan icons in cavernous railway stations.⁵² The success of such acculturation projects, as always, remains an open question. We still need to know more about how students actually experienced the "scientifically managed" classroom or how immigrants interpreted the public culture embodied in Grand Central.

In trying to catch the complexity of the acculturation process, historians may need to take a linguistic turn. That would be entirely appropriate for proponents of hegemony, since Gramsci's linguistic studies played a decisive role in the formation of the concept. Even his earliest writings stressed the centrality of language in cementing a given group's prestige and cultural leadership. The key task would be to examine the ways cultural meaning emerges in various historical "texts": sermons, advertisements, folklore, popular ritual. The investigation of cultural meanings might involve the historical ethnography pioneered by Isaac in his accounts of dancing and cock fighting in old Virginia. For intellectual historians it might suggest the close attention to rhetorical strategies that Sacvan Bercovitch brought to the Puritan jeremiad. By reaffirming a sense of mission, even as the speaker seemed to despair of its fulfillment, and reinterpreting social problems as the product of individual moral failings, the jeremiad, Bercovitch suggested, revitalized the hegemony of Puritan elites. Both Bercovitch and Isaac deciphered meanings within a framework of power relations.⁵³

⁵² Tyack and Hansot, *Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership in America, 1820-1980* (New York, 1982), 110; Taylor, "Public Space, Public Opinion, and the Origins of Mass Culture," lecture delivered to a joint meeting of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Hungarian Academy of Science, Budapest, Hungary, August 24, 1982; Stowe, *The Relations of Life: Family, Ritual, and Culture in the Antebellum Planter Class* (Baltimore, forthcoming); Bourdieu and J. C. Passeron, *Reproduction: In Education, Society, and Culture* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1977); and Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, Mass., 1984). Also see Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974).

⁵³ Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia*, 104, 119, 323-57; and Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad* (New York, 1974). For a suggestive review essay linking Gramsci with Kenneth Burke and other rhetorical critics, see Phillip K. Tompkins, "On Hegemony—'He Gave It No Name'—and Critical Structuralism in the Work of Kenneth Burke," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 71 (1985): 119-31. J. G. A. Pocock's *Politics, Language, and Time* is also helpful but a bit too intellectualist to be directly relevant; see *Politics, Language, and Time* (New York,

The rhetoric of a dominant culture may contain more than clues to its hegemony. A number of historians and literary critics have begun to insist that language, the ground of meaning, is a contested terrain. Fredric Jameson complained that Marxists are too preoccupied with unmasking mystifications and too little concerned with the utopian promise often implicit in ideology. How can one explain fascism, he asked, without some reference to the longings it claimed to fulfill? This stress on the coexistence of ideology and utopia can be brought to a variety of cultural forms. Advertising offers one example, law another. Genovese and E. P. Thompson have emphasized that the rule of law constituted not simply a powerful hegemonic instrument but also a fund of beliefs and values from which the less powerful could draw sustenance. The meaning of the law could be contested by conflicting social groups. Law promised a reign of universal norms with utopian implications.⁵⁴

Emphasis on the dialectic of ideology and utopia helps us get beyond one-dimensional conceptions of cultural hegemony, but we remain in the world of binary oppositions: truth and falsehood, resistance and accommodation. Semiotic theory suggests one way out of the binary realm by drawing attention away from static categories and toward the process by which meaning is constructed in particular texts. From this view, ideology is less a product than a process in which different kinds of meanings are produced and reproduced through the establishment of a mental attitude toward the world. That outlook privileges certain sign systems as necessary, natural, or inevitable ways of recognizing meaning and suppresses or ignores other sign systems. According to Hayden White, this is how semiotic codes are constructed—whether they are scientific, legal, fictional, or political. So instead of describing ideological elements and evaluating their truth according to a preestablished canon of interpretation, we might more profitably ask how those codes establish the plausibility of their discourse. Semiotics leads away from truth and toward “truth-effects”—the elements in a code that resonate “truthfully” with the subjective experience of a particular audience.⁵⁵

The problem of audience leads another step beyond the binary realm, toward communication theories that stress the reciprocal quality of meaning construction. The work of Stuart Hall and the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies offers one example. Hall and his comrades have fastened on Claude Levi-Strauss's notion of *bricolage* as a pattern for the construction of meaning in modern mass culture. The *bricoleur* is for Hall and his colleagues a kind of cultural hero, decoding fragments of consumer culture—a style here, a “look” there—and reassembling them to create his own personal code. The quintessential *bricoleur* was

1971), esp. 3–41. On the importance of Gramsci's linguistic studies, see Franco Lo Piparo, *Lingua, intelletuali, egemonia in Gramsci* (Bari, 1979).

⁵⁴ Jameson, *The Political Unconscious* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1981), chap. 6; Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 25–28; and Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters* (New York, 1975), 258–69.

⁵⁵ White, “Method and Ideology in Intellectual History: The Case of Henry Adams,” in LaCapra and Kaplan, *Modern European Intellectual History*, 288–89. For Foucault's parallel critique of Marxian conceptions of ideology, see Colin Gordon, ed., *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977* (New York, 1980), 109–33. Geertz presented similar views in a functionalist framework; “Ideology As a Cultural System,” in *Interpretation of Cultures*, 193–233.

the Teddy Boy in the Edwardian suit, the working-class youth who took a bit of Saville Row chic and made it a mockery of upper-class pretensions and an emblem of his own rebellious purposes.⁵⁶

But the nature of that rebellion is unclear, and it is not very illuminating simply to celebrate Teddy Boys for refusing to become mainstream consumers. To move further beyond the duality of accommodation and resistance, we might ponder the Russian literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin's emphasis on culture as a many-voiced conversation—a commonplace enough idea, except that Bakhtin imagined the conversation not only within the culture as a whole but also within each utterance. "Language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speaker's intentions; it is populated—overpopulated—with the intentions of others," he wrote. There are traces left by other speakers, by other rhetorical and discursive traditions. Language is marked by a plurality of value-laden perspectives in challenging contact with one another. It is also by its very nature dialogical: each utterance implies a symbolic exchange with at least one other speaker. All these qualities are especially relevant to the language of a hegemonic culture. By virtue of its leaders' effort to win popular consent, a hegemonic culture becomes internally persuasive rather than merely authoritative. It preserves a certain indeterminacy and open-endedness. As a result—so one can infer from Bakhtin—even the most successful hegemonic culture creates a situation where the dominant mode of discourse—and each visual or verbal text within it—becomes a field of contention where many-sided struggles over meaning are constantly fought out.⁵⁷

These arguments parallel some of the dominant tendencies in "post-structuralist" literary criticism. If deconstructionists like Paul de Man and Jacques Derrida have done nothing else, they have explored with extraordinary virtuosity the "intertextuality" and multivalence of literary texts—the proliferation of covert encounters with other authors and works, the wide variety of ways a text can subvert its own apparent meaning. In the deconstructionist view, as in Bakhtin's, the text is an arena for a multiplicity of cultural struggles, not merely a dualistic class conflict.⁵⁸ Bakhtin's approach cautions the cultural historian to avoid a kind of even-handed reductionism: first look for the assimilation, then the protest. By insisting that texts can both reinforce power relations and contain a multiplicity of conflicting meanings, Bakhtin has opened an approach to language that was barely begun by Gramsci.

Yet one is entitled to some skepticism. All the talk about "struggle" suggests a mock-heroic picture of the "strong" writer or artist vanquishing, against all odds, external influences and forcing his refractory medium to submit to his own

⁵⁶ See the essays in Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, *Culture, Media, Language* (London, 1980); and Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson, eds., *Resistance Through Rituals* (London, 1975). For a thoughtful review essay, see Chris Waters, "Badges of Half-Formed, Inarticulate Radicalism: A Critique of Recent Trends in the Study of Working-Class Youth Culture," *International Labor and Working Class History*, 19 (1981): 23–37.

⁵⁷ Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, trans. Michael Holquist and Caryl Emerson (Austin, Texas, 1981), 269–315. I am indebted to LaCapra's excellent "Bakhtin, Marxism, and the Carnavalesque"; *Rethinking Intellectual History*, 291–324.

⁵⁸ For representative selections, see de Man, *Blindness and Insight: Essays in the Rhetoric of Contemporary Criticism* (Minneapolis, 1983); and Derrida, *Dissemination*, trans. Barbara Johnson (Chicago, 1981).

intentions. There is a hint of special pleading and self-justification as critics seek to appropriate the “strength” of artists. Skepticism deepens when one wonders whether the struggle over meaning might abate if language itself were diffused, increasingly deprived of its capacity to evoke precise (albeit subjective) meanings. Henri Lefebvre, Jean Baudrillard, and William Leiss have all commented on “the floating stock of meaningless signifiers” that seems to increase under the aegis of consumer culture, as advertisers and the mass media assemble and reassemble clusters of symbolic attributes designed to sell commodities.⁵⁹ If discourse is devalued, how serious can a struggle over meaning be?

IF ONE DENIES DEVALUATION AND GRANTS the seriousness of the struggle, there remains that most challenging aspect of semiotic theory: its tendency to deny the human subject. (This antisubjectivism does not characterize the psychoanalytic semiotics of Emile Benveniste and Jacques Lacan.) In Derrida’s polemics, the self is a symptom of the “metaphysics of presence” that has infected Western culture for centuries. In Louis Althusser’s structuralist Marxism the sense of subjective will is an illusion called up by the master-magicians of bourgeois ideology. The denial of the human subject is more generally present in the antisubjectivist view that language is not a tool to express a person’s ideas but a system of signs that creates the precondition for notions like individuality and subjectivity. We are cognitively available to ourselves and others only through the guise of language. In Foucault’s case, the rejection of human agency is rooted in an effort to capture the blankness and unintelligibility of twentieth-century structures of domination—particularly the discourse of the “human sciences,” which seems unspoken by human subjects. The assault on subjectivity has some salutary effects. It offers a reminder that everyone is a creature as well as a creator of his culture—imprisoned by his available idiom even as he seeks to use it as a tool for mastery. It illuminates the ways that notions of selfhood can be socially constructed. And it offers a healthy antidote to humanist ideology, as Dominick LaCapra demonstrated in his analysis of the “commodity fetishism” passages from *Capital*. In LaCapra’s view, Marx’s “scientific” reversal of commodity fetishism embodies a humanist fetishism granting men “the ‘fantastic’ powers or unproblematic position of generative centrality that was formerly ascribed to gods—or to commodities.” The slogan that people are spoken by language rather than the other way around at least provides a refreshing alternative to humanist pieties.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Lefebvre, *Everyday Life in the Modern World*, trans. Sacha Rabinovitch (New York, 1971), 119; Baudrillard, *Toward a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, trans. Charles Levin (St. Louis, 1981); Leiss, *The Limits to Satisfaction* (Toronto, 1975), 47–94; Leiss and Stephen Kline, “Advertising, Needs, and ‘Commodity Fetishism,’” *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory*, 2 (1978): 5–27.

⁶⁰ Jacques Derrida, *Margins of Philosophy*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago, 1983), esp. 3–27, 111–36; Althusser, “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Toward an Investigation),” in his *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, trans. Ben Brewster (New York, 1971), 127–86; Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York, 1972), 55; *Madness and Civilization*, trans. Richard Howard (New York, 1965), xii; and LaCapra, “Marxism and Intellectual History,” in *Rethinking Intellectual History*, 334. For the best introduction to Benveniste and Lacan, see Kaja Silverman, *The Subject of Semiotics* (New York, 1983).

Yet, despite the crimes committed in the name of humanism, the denial of the subject begins on closer inspection to look less like part of a satisfactory theory and more like part of a fashionable ideology. Some notion of human subjectivity still seems necessary to historical understanding. A resolute antisubjectivism not only fails to account for resistance and transformation in "discursive practice" but also threatens to degenerate into as monocausal and mechanistic a model as the economic determinism Gramsci criticized so effectively. Rather than insist on a system, the historian might acknowledge language as another of those structures that may appear immutable and objective but are constantly changing in fluid interaction with human subjects. Indeed, that was Gramsci's own view, which he maintained against the reductionist grammarians of his time.⁶¹

Antisubjectivism also impoverishes textual analysis. White argued that a semiotic approach to intellectual history establishes its value quantitatively, by accounting for more elements of a particular text than content methods do. He then set out to support that claim through a semiotic analysis of *The Education of Henry Adams*. Concentrating on its intertextuality, its self-consciously literary qualities, White came up with a surprisingly one-dimensional stress on Adams's "nihilism." He dismissed Marian Adams (whose very absence constitutes a presence), overlooked the strain of vitalism that pervades the text, and lost sight altogether of the religious longing that remains barely submerged and occasionally surfaces. Despite its skill, White's analysis leaves much of the text unread—to say nothing of the life behind the text.⁶²

The shortcomings of White's work point to the larger limitations of a linguistic view of cultural history and return us to Gramsci. The focus on language can make us conscious of the endless ambiguities involved in communication and remind us that most meanings are not reducible to any binary scheme, even though they may be shaped in part by structures of power. The problem is that, once inside the labyrinth of intertextuality, the historian often seems unable to hear the human voices outside. And that is part of our task as well, to listen to those voices (however dissonant and confused) and try to reconstruct the human experience of history. That, in the end, was Gramsci's greatest strength: his openness to the variety and contrariety of experience. Despite his rationalism and his concern to locate overarching patterns of culture, Gramsci recognized that the ground of all culture is the spontaneous philosophy absorbed and shaped by each individual. This is not far from what William James called "our more or less dumb sense of what life honestly and deeply means."⁶³ Gramsci's feel for the concrete details of social life prevented him from falling prey to bloated abstractions. It would be a supreme irony if this great thinker and linguist, who did so much to free the Marxist tradition from iron necessities and hypnotic formulae, were to be reincarcerated at last in the prisonhouse of language. But somehow, I think the wily Sardinian would slip away.

⁶¹ Lo Piparo, *Lingua, intelletuali, egemonia in Gramsci*, chaps. 2–4.

⁶² White, "Method and Ideology," 290–310.

⁶³ James, "The Present Dilemma in Philosophy," in J. J. McDermott, ed., *The Writings of William James* (New York, 1968), 362.

Medical Knowledge and Urban Planning in Tropical Africa

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EUROPEANS CONQUERED MOST OF TROPICAL AFRICA between 1880 and the First World War. This was also a period of rapid advance in tropical medicine. Malaria was by far the most serious threat to Europeans living in the African tropics, and the mosquito theory made its appearance just when colonial administrations were struggling to keep soldiers and administrators alive in a difficult environment. New currents in European thought about urban planning flourished in these same years—the key period for city planning in Africa, when colonial capitals were either founded or redesigned. The play of these crosscurrents of thought during a period of crucial decision making offers an interesting example of ideas in action, one with implications for our understanding of human behavior both in Africa and beyond.

Europeans had been applying their medical ideas to the African scene since at least the early nineteenth century. Through mid-century they were especially concerned with medical topography—studies of particular locations, soils, temperature, and rainfall to determine what makes a place healthy or unhealthy. Some of the things they concluded were true; others were not. They had known for centuries that high altitudes meant cooler weather, and they associated heat with putrefaction and hence with disease. In India, officials had retreated to the “hill stations” in the warm season since the beginning of the century. But they also sought protection at much lower elevations, in the belief that malaria in particular was caused by emanations from the soil, which crept “assassin-like close to the earth.”¹ One solution was simply to put houses on stilts, elevating them ten to fifteen feet above the ground. That was a common prescription for tropical housing in India and the West Indies as well as in Africa. So was the idea of putting military camps in high places whenever possible.

In 1863, following the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 and the sanitation scandals of the Crimean War, a royal commission gathered evidence and issued detailed recommendations for sanitation reforms in India. These and other reforms reduced the death rate from disease of British soldiers serving in India from about 50 per 1000

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¹ F. H. Rankin, *The White Man's Grave: A Visit to Sierra Leone in 1834*, 2 vols. (London, 1836), 147–48.

mean strength in the 1850s to less than 16 per 1000 by the early 1890s—before either the mosquito vector for malaria or the germ theory of disease had come into play.² One aspect of these reforms was full development of the cantonment system in the 1870s and 1880s, permanent military camps located away from the noxious odors of “native” habitation, preferably to windward. Segregated residential areas for civilians followed the same pattern, with priority given to ventilation and separation from the Indian towns.³ In the decades after the mutiny, this residential segregation also satisfied an intensified racism among the English in India.

The hill stations of India and malaria-free barracks like Newcastle in Jamaica were two thousand to four thousand feet above the sea. Authorities in British West Africa also considered, somewhat uncertainly, the wisdom of moving to higher ground. In the 1840s many thought that four hundred feet of altitude sufficed for safety. Others recommended three thousand to five thousand feet, which was more realistic if the purpose was to get above the range of *Anopheles* mosquitoes. One of the earliest radical suggestions came from MacGregor Laird, the pioneer builder of iron steamboats. He thought safety could only be found above five thousand feet and recommended settlements above that altitude on Mount Cameroon, which rises more than thirteen thousand feet, and on the offshore island of Fernando Po, where the peak comes to ten thousand feet.⁴ The British did nothing at that time, but, before the end of the century, the Germans built their colonial capital for Cameroon at Buea, high on the side of Mount Cameroon.

Elsewhere, administrators more often thought of shorter moves. In 1872 the governor of Sierra Leone wanted to relocate the colonial government in the Sierra Leone mountains, where a thousand-foot altitude was available. In 1884 the governor of the Gold Coast was allowed to move his personal residence from Accra on the coast to Aburi on the Akwapim Ridge, about twenty-five miles away and a thousand feet higher. In 1897, however, when the governor of Lagos also wanted to move to higher ground, he advocated a site north of the Lagos lagoon, about four miles away but only fifty feet higher.⁵

Avoidance of disease was not the only motive for moving administrators to higher places. It also satisfied the need to segregate the governors from the governed, following the Indian precedent. Furthermore, Europeans with power and wealth naturally looked for building sites with a breeze and a view—segregated or not. (“The big house on the hill” was not merely an American phenomenon.) Long before the end of the century, the well-to-do in Bathurst came to live along the river front. At Dar es Salaam in German East Africa, the earliest “European” quarter, only informally segregated, lay on land a little higher than its surroundings, with a possible view over both harbor and ocean. Nor was it necessarily a

² Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers* [hereafter, *PP*], 1863, xix [C. 3184]; Army Medical Service, *Reports*, annual series.

³ Anthony D. King, *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power, and Environment* (London, 1976).

⁴ Laird, memorandum to West Africa Committee, *PP*, 1842, xi (551), pp. 350–51.

⁵ Leo Spitzer, “The Mosquito and Segregation in Sierra Leone,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 2 (1968): 49–61, esp. 54–55; minutes of the Gold Coast Legislative Council, June 29, 1893, National Archives of Ghana, Accra, [hereafter, *AG*], Adm. 14/6; and minute by Langly, principal medical officer, January 18, 1913, National Archives of Nigeria, Ibadan Office [hereafter, *IA*], CSO 34/288.

matter of sanitary planning that the European sections of Brazzaville, Dakar, Pointe Noire, and Abidjan were all called *le plateau*, while the equivalent sections of Accra and Lusaka were "the ridge" and countless *bomas* or district headquarters in East Africa occupied the highest point around.

Just as the nineteenth-century British drew on Indian precedents, the French drew on their experience in North Africa where urban segregation of foreigners had ancient roots. Separate Greek trading settlements in the Levant go back at least to 800 B.C. About 700 B.C. the Egyptian government allowed a separate Phoenician and a separate Greek town, Naucratis, in the lower Nile delta. The practice reappeared in a slightly different form during the Middle Ages, when Muslim powers on the south shore of the Mediterranean permitted Christian and other foreign merchants to maintain shore establishments, called *funduq*, under strict government control.⁶

In Algiers the French had a segregated settlement even before the conquest of 1830, and much the same was true in all important cities of North Africa. After the occupation, settlers streamed in, and the French, following ancient custom, built a European-style city alongside the existing Muslim town to accommodate them. In most cases, they simply called the French city *la ville nouvelle*. The old city was sometimes called the *medina*. In the twentieth century the pattern became tripartite as Muslim migrants from the rural areas built shanty towns for themselves on the outskirts—the *bidonvilles* from the French word for oil drum, a favorite construction material.⁷

Urban segregation received new impetus from medical changes toward the end of the century. From the 1790s onward, medical investigators struggled with a group of associated problems concerning the transmission of disease—indeed, with the nature of disease itself. To begin with, two assumptions were universally recognized as empirically proven: some diseases, like smallpox and plague, had the power to spread from one person to another; others, like malaria, appeared to be endemic in certain parts of the world but were not clearly transmittable by personal contact. The first of these modes of transmission was often discussed as contagion. In the terminology of the time, the second was sometimes called infection, sometimes miasma. Nineteenth-century usage of these terms can be confusing. The words are familiar, but the meanings were often different. Contagion was not thought of as an organism that moves from one person to another nor was it necessarily a specific cause of a particular disease. Rather, it was an emanation from the body of a person who had the disease, or from that of a person who had died of it, or from the bodies of people who were not even ill, if they were crowded together without enough ventilation.

Health and disease were thought of as part of a set of dynamic interactions between the body and its environment. When nineteenth-century Europeans wrote about the dangers of a tropical climate, they meant literally that temperature, humidity, emanations from the soil were the sources of danger. They also

⁶ Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (New York, 1984), 38, 78–80.

⁷ Jacques Berque, "Médinas, villeneuves et bidonvilles," *Cahiers de Tunisie*, 6 (1958): 5–42.

believed that every part of the body was related to every other part, so that the disposition of the mind could, for example, affect the stomach. Health and disease were general states of the whole organism. Many people in the medical profession believed that one set of symptoms could be transformed into another without a specific cause. The body was seen as governed by inputs and outputs—water, air, and food balanced against perspiration, respiration, and excretion. The classical humoral theory suggests that these have to be kept in balance, and underneath was a persistent belief that disease was associated with immorality in a way that was more sensed than explicit. Ventilation and the quality of the air were important, not because air might contain dangerous organisms but because generalized contagion might build up to dangerous levels without a constant change of air.⁸ By the 1870s, however, some of these ideas began to change. Louis Pasteur and Robert Koch had discovered bacteria that caused specific diseases by invading an organism and living on it as a parasite. This germ theory opened up a whole new world of possibilities for the cure and prevention of disease, but it was not assimilated immediately by the public mind or even by the medical profession.

THE APPLICATION OF THE GERM THEORY TO TROPICAL MEDICINE began in 1881, when Carlos Finlay in Cuba presented his first paper arguing that yellow fever parasites were carried from person to person by mosquitoes. In the same year, Alfonse Lavernan in Algeria discovered malaria parasites in the blood of their victims. During the next decades, new work appeared in France, Italy, England, and the United States leading to a general breakthrough in 1897–98. It was then established that the *Plasmodia*, the malaria parasites, were carried by various *Anopheles* mosquitoes and that they passed through one stage of development within the mosquito and another within the human host. Up to that time, it had been assumed that black people had an innate protection. But Koch found that non-Europeans also got malaria, although once past the age of five they rarely showed the normal clinical symptoms. Those who survived developed an apparent immunity as long as they were otherwise healthy and as long as they were reinfected at intervals by the bite of infected mosquitoes.⁹

By 1900 these ideas were fully formulated and ready for practical application in Africa. Indeed, in 1899 Ronald Ross, who is usually credited with the discovery of the mosquito as a vector for malaria, visited Sierra Leone with a group from the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine to confirm that *Anopheles* mosquitoes were indeed the principal carriers of malaria in Africa. His experience there and in India convinced him that the most effective way to attack malaria was to attack the vector that carried it. The German Koch took another direction, based on his previous experience in Africa and Southeast Asia. He had first visited Africa in

⁸ See Charles E. Rosenberg, "The Therapeutic Revolution: Medicine, Meaning, and Social Change in Nineteenth-Century America," *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, 20 (1977): 485–506, and "Florence Nightingale on Contagion: The Hospital as a Moral Universe," in Charles E. Rosenberg, ed., *Healing and History: Essays for George Rosen* (New York, 1979), 116–36.

⁹ Henry Harold Scott, *A History of Tropical Medicine*, 1 (London, 1939), 151–59, 355.

1897–98 to study malaria and blackwater fever; among other things, he experimented on the responses of Africans to various dosages of quinine. He was most interested not in the mosquitoes but in what went on in the blood of the victims.¹⁰

In 1899–1900 he continued the malaria investigation in the Dutch East Indies and New Guinea. This brought him to the world center of quinine production. The cinchona tree, whose bark is the natural source of quinine, is native to the Andes, but its various species differ greatly in their yields of effective antimalarial alkaloids. The bark's uneven effectiveness had contributed to medical uncertainty about its use before 1830, when French chemists first succeeded in isolating quinine and other alkaloids. Thereafter, quinine gradually became available throughout the tropical world then under European control. Naturalists found that the bark of one species, *Cinchona ledgeriana*, could yield up to 13 percent quinine. By the 1870s *C. ledgeriana* was firmly established as a plantation crop on Java, and in the next two decades factories were built, principally in Germany, to extract the drug on a mass scale. At that point, the Dutch East Indian government began to introduce mass quininization in the principal cities, especially in Batavia. By 1899 the free distribution of quinine in Batavia alone totaled more than twenty-five hundred kilograms a year.¹¹ Koch also conducted an experiment on a group of nonimmune estate workers moving into a malarial region. None of those who were given prophylactic quinine came down with malaria, while virtually all of those in the control group became ill. Although some medical people still doubted the value of prophylactic quinine, Koch's experiments convinced many others that newcomers to a malarial region had to protect themselves. Koch advocated that colonial governments in the tropics set out to destroy the source of infection through mass quininization of the entire population.¹²

Between 1900 and 1903 a third approach to malaria control came from Britain's Royal Society, whose malaria committee sent two doctors, S. R. Christophers and J. W. W. Stephens, of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine to conduct research in West Africa. They noted the views of Koch and Ross, but they thought that both mass chemotherapy and mosquito control were a mistake.

So closely associated indeed are malaria and the native in Africa, and so wonderfully constant is the presence of anopheles where natives are collected in numbers, that we doubt whether any operations, now possible, directed against anopheles will do much to diminish the danger of malarial infection. In fact, in Africa the primary aim should be to remove susceptible Europeans from the midst of malaria. To stamp out native malaria is at present chimerical, and every effort should rather be turned to the protection of the Europeans.¹³

¹⁰ David F. Clyde, *History of the Medical Services of Tanganyika* (Dar es Salaam, 1962), 19–20.

¹¹ Richard Bochall, *Robert Koch: Der Schöpfer der modernen Bacteriologie* (Stuttgart, 1954), 125–30; Marie L. Duran Reynals, *The Fever Bark: The Pageant of Quinine* (Garden City, N.Y., 1946), 195–225; and Koch, "Professor Koch's Investigations on Malaria," *British Medical Journal*, 1 (1900): 325–27, 1183–85, 1597–98, esp. 326.

¹² The speed with which this new information was diffused is little short of amazing to someone accustomed to academic publication in the social sciences in the 1980s. Koch's reports appeared serially, beginning while he was still in the East Indies. His second report, for example, was dated December 9, 1899, Batavia. It was published by the *Deutsche medizinische Wochenschrift* of February 1, 1900, and in English translation by the *British Medical Journal* of February 10. For the English series, see Koch, "Professor Koch's Investigations on Malaria."

¹³ Christophers and Stephens, "Destruction of Anopheles in Lagos," in Royal Society, *Reports of the Malaria Committee of the Royal Society*, 10 vols. (London, 1900), 3: 19 [hereafter, *Reports of the Malaria Committee*].

They also noted that, because of the Africans' apparent immunity, blood samples from adults rarely revealed actual plasmodia in the blood stream, but children with clinical symptoms had parasites in their blood. Children were therefore thought to be the prime source of infection, and Christophers and Stephens believed it was imperative to protect Europeans from the vicinity of African children between birth and the age of five. Keeping Europeans at mosquito's range away from African children, they argued, would "render Malaria a comparatively rare disease"—a phrase remarkable for its ethnocentric arrogance, if nothing else.¹⁴ The question then became one of deciding how far the principal species of African *Anopheles* could actually fly. Stephens and Christophers were not bothered by this issue. They took the view that African mosquitoes were race-specific in their taste for human blood, preferring the African to the European variety. The insects could be expected to hover around the Africans' huts, regardless of the distance they might be able to fly. (Although *Anopheles* can be carried much further by the wind, malariologists now regard two kilometers as sufficient to provide a measure of protection.)¹⁵

The theories of early malariologists soon became confused with each other and with older medical views that persisted. Ross, for example, was much impressed by the segregationist argument; his previous experience in India convinced him that the cantonment policy worked. In spite of his personal role in discovering the mosquito vector, he at first opposed screening of houses. He much preferred mosquito nets and especially electric fans and punkahs (the Indian ceiling fan consisting of a cloth-covered wooden framework pulled back and forth by a servant). He thought that a moving current of air would serve not only to drive off mosquitoes but also to keep the body cool and "retain the natural energy." He thought that punkahs and segregation were together responsible for the lower death rates of Europeans in India than in Africa. And, as late as 1902, he still opposed the regular prophylactic use of quinine.¹⁶ Beginning in May 1900, the Colonial Office in London distributed a pamphlet of instructions, prepared by the staff of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, to officers in the colonial service. Ross's influence was evident in the main recommendations: elimination of *Anopheles* mosquitoes, personal protection against mosquito bites (not screening of houses), and residential segregation of the European population.¹⁷

THAT THESE RULES FOLLOWED SO FAST after the medical discoveries was significant, but so was the wide variation in the manner of their application. The whims of individual administrators, their residual beliefs about contagion, or their racial and cultural chauvinism were often decisive. Some of these differences can be

¹⁴ Christophers and Stephens, "Segregation of Europeans," in *Reports of the Malaria Committee*, 3: 24.

¹⁵ Christophers and Stephens, in *Reports of the Malaria Committee*, 1: 56, 4: 3-5; and L. J. Bruce-Chwatt, *Essential Malariaology* (London, 1980), 122.

¹⁶ Ronald Ross, *Malarial Fever: Its Cause, Prevention, and Treatment* (Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, Memoir 1, London, 1902), 36-47.

¹⁷ Raymond G. Dumett, "The Campaign against Malaria and the Extension of Scientific Medical Services in British West Africa," *African Historical Studies*, 1 (1968): 153-97, esp. 171-72.

illustrated from the experience of the five colonies of British West Africa alone—Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Northern and Southern Nigeria.

The government of Sierra Leone responded quickly and with a most elaborate project, largely based on the ideas Ross spelled out after his visit there. Priority was given to the destruction of mosquito breeding grounds, but that turned out to be harder than anyone recognized at the time. *Anopheles gambiae* and *Anopheles funestus*, the most dangerous of West African vectors, were extremely hard to control. They were not confined to swamps or low places or even to the pronounced rainy season. They could breed in any small puddle or even a footprint where a little water might collect. The Caribbean *Anopheles* was somewhat easier to control, and the *Aedes Egyptae*, the carrier of yellow fever, was easier still since it bred around villages and houses and had an extremely short range in flight. The success of American public health officers in combating yellow fever in Cuba and Panama helped raise false hopes for mosquito control in Africa. The second priority in the recommendation was residential housing with maximum ventilation, and third was the separation of European from African housing.¹⁸

The plan that actually emerged in Freetown was based on still another set of priorities. Following Indian precedent, it proposed the building of a new segregated suburb, which was even named Hill Station, recalling the Indian term. The site chosen was about seven hundred fifty feet above sea level and four miles from central Freetown. In 1902 the government began constructing specially designed houses, and a fair number were actually available for occupation by 1904, including one for the governor himself. All faced north and were raised on columns to keep them well above the ground—still following the miasma theory. The ground beneath was covered with cement, supposedly to prevent mosquitoes from breeding, but that practice was already a common recommendation to prevent malarial poisons that might rise from the soil. Around Hill Station was a strip of land a quarter-mile wide cleared of all trees, tall shrubbery, and houses. The first zone was reinforced by a less stringent sanitary corridor a full mile wide, in which no African house-building or occupation of land was to be permitted, though tall vegetation was allowed.¹⁹

The most curious feature was the extent to which Africans were excluded. Servants were allowed to work at Hill Station but not to spend the night there. Apparently the assumption was that mosquitoes would bite mainly at night—which is not completely true in Africa any more than it is in North America. All African children were rigorously excluded, although Koch's research had established by 1900 that adult Africans were not genuinely immune to malaria, that they were permanently infested with the parasites, and that they occasionally showed clinical symptoms. At such times, they, too, could infect mosquitoes, so that perhaps one-quarter of adult Africans were as dangerous as their children. The chief

¹⁸ Ronald Ross, *Prevention of Malaria* (Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, Memoir 2, London, 1910), 285–86, and *Malarial Fever*, 45–46. For the most recent treatment of sanitary segregation as seen from the Colonial Office, see Thomas S. Gale, "Segregation in British West Africa," *Cahiers d'études africaines*, 20 (1980): 495–508.

¹⁹ Spitzer, "Mosquito and Segregation in Sierra Leone," 55.

medical officer for Lagos, Nigeria, pointed this out to the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce in December 1900. The chamber published his lecture, but the information either failed to reach Sierra Leone or was simply ignored.²⁰

Meanwhile, construction at Hill Station continued at considerable expense to the government, including the cost of a mountain railway that opened for both passenger and freight traffic in 1904. Opposition was inevitable. Freetown had a black mayor, a municipal government, and a class of Western-educated journalists, doctors, and lawyers. They objected, first of all, because the land taken over for Hill Station was confiscated from its African owners. They believed that money spent to improve living conditions for Europeans might better be spent to improve the urban facilities for all classes, and they soon realized that racial segregation on sanitary grounds would lead to racial segregation on other grounds as well. Later suburbs were, indeed, built and segregated by race without a medical justification. And it turned out that Europeans who lived at Hill Station came down with malaria at about the same rate as those who did not.²¹

The recommendations for sanitary segregation were carried out somewhat differently in the Gambia. Bathurst, like most older West African towns, had never had even de facto segregation. Fewer than one hundred Europeans resided in the whole colony and protectorate, and many Africans were as well-to-do as the expatriates. Some twenty-two European residences were scattered through the more prosperous part of the town, so that segregation would have required wholesale rebuilding and redesign of the urban area. Medical authorities thought that was impractical on grounds of expense. In 1911, however, a project surfaced that would have given the Gambia its own equivalent of Hill Station—on the closest approximation to a hill in the vicinity, the thirty-foot cliffs at Cape Saint Mary, where the Gambia River enters the Atlantic seven and one-half miles below the town. That plan died for lack of funds, though a limited segregation of certain desirable streets was achieved during the First World War, and some of Koch's ideas ultimately penetrated in the form of free quinine for school children.²²

The expropriation of land owned by well-to-do Africans in the Gambia raised a problem that has recurred almost everywhere urban redevelopment has been tried—right down to the present, in Africa and out. Either to build a new town or to force people to move within the old one creates windfall profits or unexpected losses. That prospect easily generates both friends and enemies for medical authorities.

Accra on the Gold Coast was another old city, with residential patterns not unlike those of Bathurst, and it had a class of well-to-do Africans far from eager to spend their money for the sake of European health. The Western-educated African

²⁰ Henry Strahan, *Paper on the Health Conditions of West Africa* (Liverpool, 1901).

²¹ Spitzer, "Mosquito and Segregation in Sierra Leone," 57–60; and F. Smith and A. Pearse, "Fevers in Sierra Leone (Mount Aureol), Being a Preliminary Account of an Enquiry into the Causes of the Continued Prevalence of Ill-Health in the Apparently Favourably Situated Hill Station," *Journal of the Royal Army Medical Corps*, 2 (1904): 278–82.

²² Gale, "Segregation in British West Office," 499; Public Record Office, London [hereafter, PRO], Colonial Office [hereafter, CO] 879/107, African 965, pp. 160–62; PRO, CO 879/108, African 975, pp. 214–15; and PRO, CO 879/110, African 992, pp. 189–93.

community was already an effective political force, having compelled the government in 1898 to withdraw a proposed lands bill. The government demolished some dilapidated buildings for sanitary reasons, and it tried to eradicate mosquitoes within urban areas. It also set up segregated areas for government officials in Accra and several other towns, but segregation was neither complete nor compulsory in the first decade of the new century.²³

Then Sir Hugh Clifford became governor during the First World War. He supported sanitary segregation in principle only, arguing that it was all very well if the government could afford it and if it did no harm to race relations. He knew perfectly well that it was expensive and did harm race relations. He also ensured that his attitude would prevail in the long run by enlarging the unofficial membership in the Gold Coast Legislative Council, which meant that traditional chiefs and educated Africans could make their opposition effective. They immediately took the position that the best medical strategy was to improve health conditions for the African population, thus protecting Europeans as well. After 1913 the issue of segregation—for other than government officials—was effectively dead in the Gold Coast.²⁴

Pressure from the Colonial Office continued, however, in spite of improving mortality figures for the European community—largely the result of prophylactic quinine and mosquito control. A conference of principal medical officers for all the British West African colonies met in 1909 and again in 1912. It supported segregation and, in 1912, drew up a plan to complete the segregation of the European population in all African towns within ten years, but the plan was easier to apply in designing new towns than in rebuilding old ones.

In 1907, for example, officials selected a site for a new capital of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, the future Tamale. The plan called for a segregated European section upwind from the African town, following Indian precedent, and separated from it by an open space. Founding a new town on a vacant site had the advantage of beginning with a clean slate, but there was a complication. What should be done to protect African clerks who worked with Europeans in the same offices? The chief medical officer for the Northern Territories recommended not only that Europeans be segregated from the local population but also that their clerks be segregated from both.²⁵

In the separate colonies of Northern and Southern Nigeria (amalgamated to form a single colony in 1914), the situation was again different. In Lagos, Governor William MacGregor was himself a medical man who had followed the recent publications on malaria. He had serious doubts about the new directives from London, especially the idea of demolishing parts of the city to create sanitary cordons—partly because any such move would be unfair to the African population and partly because it had little promise of being effective. If Africans were truly

²³ Dumett, "Campaign against Malaria," 170–71.

²⁴ Minutes of the Gold Coast Legislative Council, October 3, 1913, AG, Adm. 14/8.

²⁵ David Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana, 1850–1928* (Oxford, 1963); A. E. Wetherston to colonial secretary, Tamale, April 15, 1907, Northern Territory Letter Books, AG, acc. 1290/1953; and Northern Territory Medical Report for 1904, AG, acc. 1345/1953.

the reservoir of parasites, the thing to do was to attack the disease at its source—among the Africans themselves. In 1900 William Strahan, his chief medical officer, had already pointed out that adult Africans, not children alone, were infested with the parasites, that they could transmit the plasmodia to a mosquito much of the time in spite of their apparent immunity. He, too, thought that the only wise course was to eradicate malaria among the Africans, though sanitary segregation might help in the meantime.

MacGregor himself went further. Although he paid lip service to Ross's ideas, he made his government's priority quinine prophylaxis, which became compulsory for government officials and was urged on the African population through a publicity campaign and the offer of free distribution of quinine to the whole population of Lagos and its suburbs. The second phase of MacGregor's program was to screen European houses and workplaces, even at the cost of reduced ventilation. Third, he mounted an antimosquito campaign.²⁶

The Lagos government did nothing to implement sanitary segregation until 1907, when it condemned seven acres of urban land fronting the Lagos race course for conversion into an exclusive European settlement. Houses in that part of Lagos belonged to the most substantial class of African merchants and professional people. They were quick to react, as others like them had done in Accra, and the issue was drawn in much the same way. The Africans had allies as well as opponents within the administration. As in the Gold Coast, the "unofficial" members of the Legislative Council were African. They were also organized in the Aborigines Protection Society, which could muster enough political clout to make segregation an embarrassing issue. The European section near the race course came into existence, but the government was unable to get all Africans to leave. The idea of creating a new suburb for Europeans on higher land up the railway toward the interior lingered on, but the immediate solution was to set up newly built segregated suburbs to the east of downtown Lagos, though the actual construction was postponed to the period between the two world wars.²⁷

Like the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, Northern Nigeria also provided a clean slate. Only in 1900 did the government set up an administrative structure. Sir Frederick Lugard, as governor, immediately began to move administrative quarters at Lokoja on the Niger to a new site one mile away from the existing town, and he acted in conscious imitation of the Indian cantonment system, not on Ross's directives alone. He extended segregation to all new district headquarters. Even the "rest houses" built in many villages for the use of administrators on tour were to be built at least four hundred yards from the nearest "native" dwelling, and Africans were forbidden to use them under any

²⁶ Dumett, "Campaign against Malaria, 181; Strahan, *Paper on the Health Conditions of West Africa*, 10; and Sir William MacGregor, "Notes on Antimalarial Measures Now Being Taken in Lagos," *British Medical Journal*, 2 (1901): 680–82.

²⁷ The inland site would have been near the present location of Lagos airport. The once-segregated suburbs on the islands remain today, now integrated, as the fashionable districts of East Marina, Ikoyi, and Victoria Island. See Walter Egerton to Lord Elgin, December 2, 1907, January 27, 1908, IA, CSO 3/46. Also see Frederick Lugard, "Report on Amalgamation," enclosed with Lugard to Lord Harcourt, May 9, 1913, IA, CSO 3/02.

circumstance.²⁸ Following outmoded nineteenth-century ideas about contagion, Lugard himself criticized the Colonial Office for its failure to say enough about the “predisposing causes” of malaria. He regarded these as, first of all, bad housing and, especially, the emanations arising from the damp ground. An inadequate diet and lack of exercise were also important causes. Lugard took care to build appropriate tropical housing for the senior European staff. He had tennis courts built and used government funds to subsidize polo clubs—still another reminder of his early experience in India.²⁹

Correct house design was a continuous government concern in the early years of the mosquito theory. In 1906 the Colonial Office sent a circular dispatch to West African governors, who were asked for their opinions on the most desirable features of staff housing for the tropics. The governors of Sierra Leone, Southern Nigeria, and Northern Nigeria answered in greatest detail. All three stressed the importance of an air space under the house. All three wanted a wide veranda on all sides of the house to avoid the dangerous direct rays of the sun. All three disapproved of screened doors and windows—ventilation was more important than keeping out mosquitoes. Once again, the mosquito theory and, indeed, the germ theory of disease had failed to penetrate the ingrained beliefs of administrators in the dangers of miasma. To the extent that the mosquito theory was recognized at all, it was as a justification for segregation, which was desired on racist grounds anyhow. An ingenious doctor in Bathurst left government bungalows unscreened for the sake of ventilation but screened the servants’ rooms to protect the mosquitoes and hence the masters from infective bites.³⁰

The findings of scientists who visited Nigeria in the early years of the new century appear in retrospect somewhat less “scientific” than those of Governor MacGregor in Lagos. A team from the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine took as its point of departure the “fact” that “native children” and only native children were the source of malarial infection. Destruction of mosquitoes and other measures were all very well, but “segregation of Europeans at a distance from all the natives offers itself now as the only measure by which absolute freedom from the disease can be guaranteed.” The Liverpool expedition also held that “native servants” were no real danger, since, as adults, they were not carriers; the only danger was that they might have African women and children visit them. There was also the “fact,” already expounded by Chrisophers and Stevens, that mosquitoes preferred African to European blood. Having African servants might well attract mosquitoes to come “swarming after them from the native quarters.” Once segregation had been accomplished, these authorities saw no real harm in subsidiary measures like prophylactic quinine or even “mosquito-proof houses in certain circumstances.”³¹

²⁸ Lugard to Lord Lyttleton, June 16, 1904, National Archives of Nigeria, Kaduna Office [hereafter, KA], SNP, file 1327/1903.

²⁹ Lugard to Lyttleton, June 16, 1904, KA, SNP, file 1327/1903; and J. W. Thompstone, minutes of February 22, 1907, KA, SNP, file 718/1907.

³⁰ See KA, file 1548/1906; T. Hand to col. sec., Gambia, March 29, 1911, CO 879/107, African 961.

³¹ H. E. Annett *et al.*, *Report of the Malaria Expedition to Nigeria of the London School of Tropical Medicine and Medical Parasitology* (Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, Memoir 3, London, 1902), 54–56.

Later medical personnel went further still. In 1912 Dr. M. Cameron Blair, senior sanitary officer for Northern Nigeria, wanted to extend sanitary segregation to commercial districts. There, only Europeans would be allowed to own stores. All commercial premises were to be nonresidential. As usual, Africans other than servants were not to pass the night within four hundred yards of a white man's house, though African servants were nevertheless allowed to live in their masters' quarters. Measured against the mosquito theory, this made no sense at all. Its apparent medical basis was much more clearly the theory of generalized contagion emanating from the "native town"—drawn from nineteenth-century medicine and Indian colonial practice. The obvious commercial advantage to white over black merchants also suggests the strong possibility of latent racism in Blair's arguments.

In opposition, Governor Hesketh Bell took the same position Clifford had taken in the Gold Coast. It was all very well to protect the health of Europeans, but the social cost was much too high. He pointed out that a number of Lagos Africans were professional and businessmen of wealth, who lived on the same scale as the Europeans themselves. Such people were clearly no sanitary threat; to disturb them would complicate race relations and disrupt commercial life in a country with an African as well as a European business class. With this defense Bell, too, slipped away from the new medical teachings; if Africans were indeed the main reservoir of plasmodia, rich carriers were as dangerous as poor ones. But Bell's inconsistency shows that his response was more political than medical. Similarly, the proposal to allow servants in the European quarter reflected a desire to be segregated but not inconvenienced.³²

What actually emerged in Northern Nigeria was more complicated than the early plans had been. In the new townships that were laid out as the railway advanced toward Kano, each urban area was divided into four sections: the official and European section, at least four hundred yards to windward of the others; the commercial-industrial section, laid out near the railway line and station; a quarter for African clerks and superior artisans; and a strangers quarter (*sabon gari* in Hausa) for African laborers and the poorer class generally. This scheme was somewhat modified where an African city was already present, as in Zaria or Kano. There, the *sabon gari* became the quarter for African strangers but not necessarily for the poorest class. In any event, the four-part scheme remained—and still exists in many northern cities.

Although the administration established this plan in response to medical advice, it also resembled an ancient tradition of West African urban planning. For at least a thousand years, West African rulers had been accustomed to segregating traveling merchants and other strangers in a separate ward or town, where they could enjoy their own customs under the autonomous authority of their own leaders. Sometimes the merchant quarter (*zongo*) was a single section of the larger city, but often it was completely separate and situated as far as five to ten kilometers from the ruler's capital.³³

³² Bell to secretary of state, February 20, 1912, IA, CSO 28/10; H. L. Goldsmith to Harcourt, April 29, 1912, IA, CSO 28/10; and W. A. Crawford Cockburn to high commissioner, Calabar, January 15, 1902, IA, Calprof 1/69.

³³ Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*, 38–59.

As sanitary segregation advanced in Northern Nigeria, the popularity of the idea grew in official medical circles. In 1911 the medical advisory committee to the Colonial Office approved a proposal by Sir Rupert Boyce and Sir Patrick Manson that the following paragraph be inserted in the next edition of the *West African Pocket Book*: "It has been proved that the separation of Europeans from natives is one of the most efficient means of protection against disease endemic amongst native races. Even partial separation, such as sleeping outside the native quarter at night time, affords a very considerable degree of security."³⁴ In 1914 Lugard, on returning as governor-general of a united Nigeria, pushed for more thorough-going segregation. His Townships Ordinance of 1917 made it possible to impose a fine or imprisonment on Europeans who lived in a non-European zone. In wartime this scheme was impossible, and therefore it was never actually implemented, partly because Lugard's successor in 1919 was the same Hugh Clifford who had opposed segregation in the Gold Coast. Many segregation plans between 1914 and 1919 proposed removal of African merchants from commercial zones, but the economic advantage of such action for Europeans was so blatant as to weaken even arguments based on sanitary grounds.³⁵

This intersection of sanitary and commercial motives was even clearer in the German colony of Cameroon. German colonial medical policy was deeply influenced by Koch's ideas about mass quininization—pursued most avidly in Tanganyika. But, just as quinine became increasingly important for the prevention and treatment of malaria in British West Africa, ideas about sanitary segregation spread in German medical circles. In Cameroon, Dr. Ziemann, the chief government physician, had been arguing since 1900 that the quininization was impractical. The port town of Duala was a case in point. In his view, the Duala people were racially incapable of practicing proper mosquito control. In 1910 he was able to state, with unusual precision, that 72 percent of them were infested with malaria parasites. He therefore proposed to move them away from the seafront, which would become a European zone separated from the African quarter by a one-kilometer neutral zone.³⁶

The resulting removal was certainly the most massive attempted in West Africa up to that time. If the plan had been fully implemented, about twenty thousand people would have been removed from their homes along the Wouri River. By contrast, the German population of Duala numbered only about four hundred, and much of the Duala waterfront had already fallen into European hands by purchase. No valid administrative reason existed to expropriate so much land—especially in view of an 1884 treaty that guaranteed the Duala their permanent right to it.

³⁴ Minutes of the Nineteenth Meeting of the Medical and Sanitary Advisory Committee for Tropical Africa, January 11, 1911, PRO, CO 879/107, African 966.

³⁵ Gale, "Segregation in British West Office," 503.

³⁶ Ralph Austen, "Duala versus Germans in Cameroon," *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer*, 64 (1977): 477–97; Harry Rudin, *Germans in the Cameroons* (New Haven, Conn., 1938), 349, 411–13; and Adolf Rüger, "Die Duala und die Kolonialmacht, 1884–1914: Eine Studie über die historischen Ursprünge des afrikanischen Antikolonialismus," in Helmuth Stoecker, ed., *Kamerun unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft* (Berlin, 1968), 220–54.

The move created a major colonial crisis. The Duala had been mainly a commercial people in the middleman trade between the Germans and other Africans of the interior. For them the loss of waterfront property meant something worse than an annoying inconvenience; their business interests were at stake. European missionaries and town merchants joined them in opposing the move. Compelled to follow their converts, missionaries would lose buildings and other capital investments in the coastal zone. And the missionaries' converts were the merchants' customers. Even more important for German commercial interests, the land along the waterfront was rising in value. If the government expropriated what remained in Duala hands, speculators' profits would go to the government, not to the merchant community. Even the chief government medical officer of this period objected that the scheme made little sense on medical grounds. The government, however, pushed the measure through with official backing in Germany, a clear sign that rising racism was more important than either economic or sanitary considerations.

The leaders of the Duala counterattack were much the same kind of people—using much the same tactics—as the African leaders of the antisegregation movement in the British colonies. The “king” of the Duala was Rudolf Manga Bell, a German-educated descendant of the royal family, who had been put in office by the government in 1908. Under his leadership, the Duala not only petitioned the local government but also tried to reach the Kolonialamt in Berlin—and beyond it, the Reichstag. Manga Bell hired a German lawyer to represent the Duala in Berlin. As the controversy became increasingly bitter, local officials removed Manga Bell from his post. In desperation, he tried to extend his appeal to other European countries he thought might be sympathetic. His timing was bad. In the summer of 1914 increasing tension in Europe made any such appeal appear to be less than patriotic. Just as the war began, the local administration in Cameroon arrested Manga Bell and his secretary Ngoso Din, tried them for treason, and executed them.

German East Africa, on the other hand, witnessed the most thoroughgoing attack on malaria through chemotherapy in all Africa. The future Tanganyika had been a center for Koch's own research, and Dr. Heinrich Ollwig, an official of the East African medical service, had gone to Southeast Asia as part of the Koch team in 1899–1900. In 1901 Ollwig returned to East Africa as head of a special unit whose name translates as “Expedition for Combating Malaria in the Protected Territory of German East Africa According to the Proposals of Medical Privy Councilor Professor Dr. Koch.” This campaign was not limited to the distribution of free quinine to those who could be persuaded to use it. Ollwig divided Dar es Salaam into zones and sent his men with police escort from one zone to another inspecting all inhabitants and prescribing for infected adults two grams of quinine every ten days. Today the dose would be considered low, but at that time the problem was more administrative than medical. Medical authorities could not keep track of people circulating back and forth between village and town, and the quininization program could not be enforced. And yet the attempt continued down to the First World War and was supplemented by mosquito eradication,

screening, and other antimalarial measures—in line with the eclectic programs emerging in other colonies. Here, too, as in Cameroon, voices favoring more formal segregation were also heard. In 1904, for example, the medical authorities in Dar es Salaam published a city plan providing for a six-part subdivision based on race and race mixture.³⁷

ALTHOUGH MALARIA PROVIDED THE MOST IMPORTANT SINGLE ARGUMENT for sanitary segregation, other diseases sometimes played a role. Older ideas about how to control smallpox and plague through quarantine, including the *cordon sanitaire*, antedated the germ theory by centuries. In early colonial Africa, bubonic plague reappeared, and with it came some earlier forms of sanitary segregation. The plague had been absent from Africa and Europe for centuries, but it now returned in a pandemic that began in China, reaching Canton and Hong Kong in 1894, Madagascar in 1898, South Africa in 1901, the Ivory Coast in 1899 and 1903, the Gold Coast in 1908, East Africa by 1910, and Dakar, the capital of French West Africa, in 1914. Whereas segregation against malaria was mainly a matter of removing the Europeans from the African town, the favorite measure against plague was to remove those who became ill. In a racist era, the natural solution was to expel Africans from the European town.

In West Africa, the French followed the North African tradition by building their cities in the European style—sometimes alongside an existing African town, sometimes at an entirely new coastal or transportation point. In Senegal, the oldest colony, the ancient capital of Saint Louis had been built like an eighteenth-century French town, with a central *place*, streets laid out in a grid, and buildings constructed in the European style—but with an African town on the outskirts. Saint Louis, moreover, was racially unsegregated. It had had an African mayor since the eighteenth century. Segregationists found a social setting even more entrenched than that of Accra or Lagos.

In the comparatively new city of Dakar the rise of racism led some planners to suggest legal segregation even before 1901. In that year a sanitary commission recommended the creation of a hygienic village—in effect, a section of the city from which African-style thatch houses would be banned. Others recommended a sanitary cordon around the *plateau*, which was to become the site of a new European residential area. When the plague struck in 1914, the government condemned and burned all thatch-roofed houses in the part of the city where most Europeans lived, as it also burned the houses where African plague victims had died. It ordered their remaining inhabitants to move to a new African town on the outskirts, to be called the Medina following the North African precedent, just as the new suburb of Freetown had become Hill Station following the Indian precedent.

In September and October 1914, twenty-nine hundred of perhaps thirty-eight

³⁷ Clyde, *History of the Medical Services of Tanganyika*, 23–27; Ann Beck, *Medicine and Society in Tanganyika, 1890–1930: A Historical Inquiry* (Philadelphia, 1977), 52; and *Medizinalberichte über die deutschen Schutzgebiete*, 1904/05, Anlage IX, pp. 88–89.

thousand people living in Dakar were driven out of the city. The expulsions from Dakar, like those in Duala, provoked a strong African opposition. Feelings had already been aroused by a conflict between the colonial government and the Lebou people of Dakar—a conflict that centered on African rights to urban land. Also in 1914, Dakar and the other Senegal *communes* succeeded in electing their first African representative to the National Assembly in Paris. Like the Africans of Lagos, Duala, and Accra, the Dakarois had influence, if not real power, with the government. As the epidemic weakened, the disturbances died down, and the government stopped moving people to the Medina. But it kept the idea that Dakar should be divided into two sections, one mainly for Europeans and the medina for Africans. Yet race was not the only criterion. The government resorted to a cultural distinction based on architectural style. The “European” town was to be for Europeans and for any Africans willing and able to live in a European manner. That division lasted through the interwar years, though the European town tended to expand away from the harbor onto the highest available ground. Remnants of the division are still visible today, though the old Medina has been rebuilt in reinforced concrete and a newer ring of *bidonvilles* has grown up still farther out. At the end of the 1920s, the population of the Medina was only about eight thousand, while twenty thousand Africans remained in Dakar proper.³⁸

Other new cities in French tropical Africa followed the Dakar pattern. The administration laid out a city in European style, often with elegant boulevards and government buildings. Europeans tended to live in or near these centers, but some Africans lived there as well, though most lived in the local equivalent of the Medina, sometimes, as in Bamako, under that same name.³⁹

In French Equatorial Africa and Madagascar, these African quarters were more often called *villages*, with the suggestion that they were a part of rural Africa brought to the fringes of an urban setting—not a real part of the new city. But even in Brazzaville, a few poor whites lived in the *villages*, and some of the few Africans who could afford to do so lived in the European quarter. In Madagascar, the urban patterns were derived from nineteenth-century precedents—much as in Senegal. The French conquered Madagascar from their existing colony of Réunion in the Mascarene Islands. On Réunion, a local middle class called *créole*, often of mixed descent, had long since come into existence. When the French moved forward to coastal Madagascar, the *créoles* moved with them. At coastal points like Tamatave, residential customs followed Mascarene precedent. Europeans and the wealthier *créoles* lived in well-built houses in the most desirable part of the town. Poorer *créoles* lived somewhat aside with a few of the native Malgache, but the government made every effort short of legal prohibition to keep the Malgache in a separate *village indigène* some distance west of the town itself. And Madagascar was part of an Indian Ocean as well as an African world. Some medical authorities in Tananarive

³⁸ Assane Seck, *Dakar: Métropole ouest-africaine* (Dakar, 1970), 132–33; Raymond F. Betts, “The Establishment of the Medina in Dakar Senegal, 1914,” *Africa*, no. 41, pp. 143–52; and Elikia M’Bokolo, “Peste et société urbaine à Dakar: L’épidémie de 1914,” *Cahiers d’études africaines*, 22 (1982): 13–46.

³⁹ Rita Cruise O’Brien, *White Society in Black Africa: The French in Senegal* (London, 1972), 54–55, 94–95, 217; and Jean Dresch, “Villes d’Afrique occidentale,” *Cahiers d’outre-mer*, 3 (1950): 200–30.

wanted to move the "natives" at least 1.5 kilometers away from the European soldiers' barracks—citing the Dutch practice in Batavia on Java, rather than any nearer African precedent.⁴⁰

If the French administration failed to push sanitary segregation as far as governors like Lugard had attempted, that was not because its medical advice was different. Medical authorities were well aware of what the neighboring colonial power was doing. As early as 1903, the standard French text of tropical hygiene had picked up the recent works of British antimalarial segregationists like Christophers and Stephens and presented them as the teachings of "science." Just when the British were discussing appropriate tropical housing, the French did the same.⁴¹

In British East Africa, the government's first steps had something in common with those of the French in North Africa—or with their own urban policies in Egypt. Zanzibar, Mombasa, and Lamu were all small, preindustrial cities, but the British built a *ville nouvelle* alongside the old town only at Mombasa. There, the new port works and the railhead of the Uganda Railway attracted a substantial European community, which soon established its own quarter outside the old town. Zanzibar and Lamu remained unsegregated in spite of government projects to separate African and European living quarters. In Lamu, European residents were too few; all that remains today of the segregation projects is the residence of the district commissioner, located on the highest site in the neighborhood. More Europeans came to Zanzibar than to Lamu, but it remained a protectorate where the sultan was still sovereign, at least in theory.

In the new towns that appeared along the railway to Lake Victoria—Nairobi, Nakuru, Naivasha, Kisumu—segregation appeared from the beginning, but more from Indian precedent than for medical reasons. Indian influence was important in the main towns, even before British annexation, and British control brought still more settlers from India, alongside European civil servants who had served in India. The first step was to segregate Indian from European quarters, again following the Indian pattern. It was far from clear in the beginning that Africans would eventually become the vast majority of the urban populations.

In East, as in West, Africa the thread of racism became increasingly strong as the First World War approached. The most elaborate segregationist proposals, combining racist and sanitary objectives, came from W. J. Simpson of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, who, on a tour of Kenya, Uganda, and Zanzibar in 1913–14, made recommendations, followed by an elaborate final report filed in July 1914. Town planning in Europe, he believed, required the separation of commercial, residential, and manufacturing areas, but in Africa different principles were necessary:

⁴⁰ Jean Dresch, "Villes congolaises: Étude de géographie urbaine et sociale," *Revue de géographie humaine et de l'ethnographie*, 1 (1948): 3–14; Martel, "Considérations sur les progrès hygiéniques réalisés dans la ville de Tamatave," *Annales d'hygiène et de médecine coloniale* [hereafter, *AHMC*], 15 (1912): 528–29; Salanoue-Ipin, "Notes sur les causes d'insalubrité des casernements et établissements militaires de Tananarive," *AHMC*, 14 (1911): 38.

⁴¹ Gustave Reynaud, *Hygiène coloniale*, 1 (Paris, 1903), 165–71; and Condamy, "Habitations coloniales," *Revue des troupes coloniales*, 6, pt. 1 (1906): 21–18.

... something more is required where the races are diverse and their habits and customs differ from one another. ... it has to be recognized that the standards and mode of life of the Asiatic do not ordinarily consort with the European, whilst the customs of Europeans are at times not acceptable to the Asiatics, and that those of the African unfamiliar with and not adapted to the new conditions of town life will not blend with either. Also that the diseases to which these different races are respectively liable are readily transferable to the European and vice versa, a result especially liable to occur when their dwellings are near each other.

In the interests of each community and of the healthiness of the locality and country, it is absolutely essential that in every town and trade centre the town planning should provide well defined and separate quarters or wards for Europeans, Asiatics and Africans, as well as those divisions which are necessary in a town of one nationality and race, and that there should be a neutral belt of open unoccupied country of at least 300 yards in width between the European residences and those of the Asiatic and African.⁴²

For Mombasa, he suggested four segregated zones—for Europeans, Indians, coastal Africans, and Africans from the interior—more elaborate than was common in coastal West Africa, but less so than the German practice next door in Dar es Salaam. Although drastic, this proposal was mild compared to another “medical” opinion of the time. An earlier senior medical officer of the East African Protectorate (now Kenya) wanted to remove all Africans from Mombasa islands—at a time when the European population was 148, the African 27,000.⁴³

Some of Simpson’s recommendations recall the blend of commercial greed and sanitary enthusiasm found in Nigerian and Cameroonian segregation schemes. He believed, for example, that the old Indian bazaar in central Nairobi was unsanitary and should be replaced. But his way of replacing it was to expropriate the land from its Indian owners and reclassify the section for Europeans only. The property was, he noted, among the most valuable in central Nairobi, so that its resale to Europeans would be free of cost to the government. In 1915 Simpson moved on to Kampala, where he recommended ethnic zoning with intermediate green belts, but the principles of sanitary segregation had already been imposed on most district towns between 1907 and 1915. The result was a number of double-centered towns, with one focus on the *boma* or administrative building, surrounded by a European residential neighborhood, and the other on the Indian bazaar, surrounded by the commercial district. The *boma* was typically on a high point southeast of the urban center, cooled and cleansed by the prevailing southeast winds. Today from the air the most visible evidence of the old pattern is the golf course, wrapped around the *boma* quarter in the open space originally intended to protect Europeans from infection.⁴⁴

⁴² Simpson, “Report on Sanitary Matters in the East African Protectorate, Uganda, and Zanzibar,” PRO, CO 879/115, African 1025, pp. 9–10. Also see Simpson to Colonial Office, March 17, 1914, PRO, CO 879/114, African 1013, p. 109.

⁴³ Simpson to governor, September 13, 1913, PRO, CO 879/114, African 1013, p. 143; and W. J. Redford, interview before the Forty-Seventh Meeting of the Advisory Medical and Sanitary Committee for Tropical Africa, December 4, 1912, PRO, CO 879/31, African 9891, p. 357.

⁴⁴ David N. McMaster, “The Colonial District Town in Uganda,” in R. P. Beckinsale and J. M. Houston, eds., *Urbanization and Its Problems: Essays in Honour of E. W. Gilbert* (Oxford, 1968), 341–42.

Just as Lugard's segregation plans marked the high tide of sanitary segregation in British West Africa, Simpson's plans were its high water mark in the East. Many of his projects were rejected as too expensive, but the medical and social advantages appeared less pressing in the postwar world than they had in wartime. For East Africa, the issue came to a head in 1923 with the political struggle between Kenya's white settlers and Indians. The duke of Devonshire, then secretary of state for the colonies, issued a general statement from cabinet level. On segregation, it said:

Following on Professor Simpson's report, a policy of segregation was adopted in principle, and it was proposed by Lord Milner to retain this policy on both sanitary and social grounds. . . . It is now the view of competent medical authorities that, as a sanitation measure, segregation of Europeans and Asiatics is not absolutely essential for the preservation of the health of the community. . . . It may well prove that in practice the different races will, by natural affinity, keep together in separate quarters, but to effect such separation by legislative enactment except on the strongest sanitary grounds would not, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government be justifiable.⁴⁵

Other colonial powers responded with different emphases, but virtually all tried to do something about mosquitoes through segregation. The Belgian Congo became the most thoroughgoing practitioner anywhere in Africa. In Leopoldville, Kalina (the original European quarter) was separated from the African quarter by a sanitary cordon consisting of a golf course, a botanical garden, and a zoo. Congolese were not allowed to live in the European town with the exception of a few domestic servants. From 9 P.M. to 6 A.M., Congolese were not permitted in the European town without a special pass, and no Europeans were allowed to visit the African city. The only exceptions were a few *immatriculés* (Africans who enjoyed a quasi-Belgian status), but even they were not allowed to live in the European quarter until 1956.⁴⁶

ALTHOUGH LEOPOLDVILLE WAS EXCEPTIONAL, some form of racial, social, or cultural segregation triumphed everywhere in colonial Africa—most fully in South Africa, Rhodesia, and elsewhere in the Belgian Congo—but with a different mixture of racial, medical, and social justification in each case. In southern and central Africa, the mining compound for migratory labor became the precedent for segregation under the influence of the peculiar social and political circumstances of the 1920s, when urban patterns of southern Africa became fixed. But urban segregation appeared even in Cairo, where an English-style *ville nouvelle* began to grow even before the formal colonial period began, though there, as in the Maghrib, segregation was not so much racial as cultural.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ *PP*, 1923, xviii [Cmd. 1922], p. 15.

⁴⁶ C. J. LaFontaine, *City Politics: A Study of Leopoldville, 1962–63* (Cambridge, 1970), 19–21; and J. L. L. Comhaire, *Aspects of Urban Administration in Tropical and Southern Africa* (Cape Town, 1953), 22–29.

⁴⁷ Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious* (Princeton, N.J., 1971), 98–117; John W. Cell, *The Highest Sage of White Supremacy: The Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South* (Cambridge, 1982), esp. 46–81; Philip Mason, *The Birth of a Dilemma: The Conquest and Settlement of Rhodesia* (London, 1958), 238–54; and Charles van Onselen, *African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia, 1900–1933* (London, 1976), 34–73.

In Western town planning generally, sanitary segregation was only one thread among many. Its rise and importance were exactly contemporaneous with the passage of zoning legislation for North American and Western European cities, some of whose features were also ostensibly justified by sanitary goals. Residential areas were to be separated from industrial smells, just as the Indian cantonments were to be separated from the smells of the "native town." Other goals, however, were social or economic. After the late 1890s, suburban subdivisions in North American cities were protected by detailed covenants laying down restrictions ranging from rules for residential construction to those governing the residents themselves (no blacks or Jews allowed).

In the broad sweep of African urban history, then, the desire for sanitary segregation played a role in the formation of residential patterns, but the motivation of racial and cultural segregation was no less important than precedents of the Indian cantonment system, the North African *funduq*, the southern African mining compound and "native reserve," and even broader European ideas about governmental and private controls over urban development. Although its influence was strong, medical thought was neither alone nor dominant in giving shape to the cities of tropical Africa. It is perhaps more interesting as an illustration of the way both doctors and administrators tried to solve problems of life and death in an alien environment, with the help of science interlarded with race prejudice, political convenience, and economic advantage—all of this in the middle of an important paradigm change in the history of Western medicine.

AHR Forum
Comrades and Citizens:
New Mythologies in American Historiography

JOHN PATRICK DIGGINS

The one is independent, and its essential nature is to be for itself; the other is dependent, and its essence is life or existence for another. The former is the Master, or Lord, the latter the Bondsman.

—G. W. F. Hegel, 1807

Nobody will be argued into slavery.

—Edmund Burke, 1774¹

THE PHILOSOPHER GEORGE SANTAYANA used to console himself with the notion that America would find its soul only when it had lost its mind. More bemused than exasperated, Santayana believed the American mind had come to be dominated by two deeply ingrained but vaguely understood ideas: liberalism and Protestantism. Liberalism had given the American male the inalienable right to be free, become rich, and escape his marital vows, while Calvinism insured that he could do none of these without experiencing guilt.²

Santayana was not the only American theorist troubled by the thought that liberalism as the pursuit of self-interest is both the essential principle of America and its essential problem. John Adams and the framers of the Constitution worried that political man might be motivated solely by "avarice" and "self-love." Alexis de Tocqueville and Henry Thoreau saw in the American character an "egoism" that refused to "simplify" its desires, and Thorstein Veblen concluded that the "pecuniary" norms of waste and consumption were eroding the older ideals of work and production. Today radical scholars complain of the "possessive individualism" and "culture of narcissism" that have supposedly been the dominant traits of liberal capitalist society.³ Santayana would have agreed with these radical assessments, if not their causal assumptions. His response to liberal America was

¹ Hegel, *The Phenomenology of Mind*, trans. J. B. Baillie (New York, 1967), 234; and Burke, "Speech on American Taxation," in Walter J. Bate, ed., *Selected Writings of Edmund Burke* (New York, 1960), 101.

² Santayana, "The Irony of Liberalism," *New Republic*, September 24, 1956, pp. 12–15.

³ George A. Peek, Jr., ed., *The Political Writings of John Adams* (Indianapolis, 1954), 105–63; Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. J. P. Mayer (Garden City, N.Y., 1969), 506–08; Thoreau, *Walden and Other Writings*, ed. Joseph Wood Krutch (New York, 1962), 107–78; Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899; New York, Mentor edn., 1953); C. B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism* (London, 1962); and Christopher Lasch, *The Culture of Narcissism* (New York, 1978).

to seek refuge in an Italian convent, where he spent many of his remaining years wondering how self-government could teach man to govern the self.

We can hardly be surprised by the contemporary lamentations of the Left. An older generation of historians spent much of their academic careers pondering the dilemmas of liberal America. Richard Hofstadter's *The American Political Tradition* (1948) might be regarded as the first statement of the "consensus" theory of American historiography. In the thoughts of every major American statesman from Jefferson to Herbert Hoover, Hofstadter found a "kind of mute organic consistency," an ideology of economic individualism that bound Americans to the values of competitive capitalism and made America "a democracy of cupidity rather than a democracy of fraternity." This essentially "Lockean ethos," as Louis Hartz cogently argued, also created what the Old Left called "American exceptionalism," the conviction that America was unique and could not be comprehended by categories found in European political philosophies, or at least not by philosophies that replaced property with class and economic interests with political ideals. "Modern humanist thinkers," Hofstadter warned, "who seek for a means by which society may transcend eternal conflict and rigid adherence to property rights as its integrating principles can expect no answer in the philosophy of balanced government as it was set down by the Constitution makers of 1787."⁴

The conception of a liberal "synthesis" was challenged in the 1960s and 1970s by a new generation of scholars that I shall identify as Marxists—or New Left historians—and republicanists. These two groups, I hasten to add, have little in common save for the conviction that America is not unique and that liberalism does not explain America's historical development. Whether drawing on the processes of class formation or the principles of classical traditions, both Marxists and republicanists have used European ideas to challenge the liberal consensus and propose new ways of interpreting American history. As a means of questioning the conventional view that America has been permeated by capitalist values, Marxists have imported the idea of social class and republicanists the idea of civic virtue. The Marxist perspective suggests that America had an aristocracy capable of resisting capitalism and a working class capable of achieving "class consciousness." Republicanists propose that America absorbed Old World classical republicanism and its conflicting juxtaposition of "virtue" and "commerce."

Ignoring Tocqueville, the first theorist of "American exceptionalism," New Left scholars drew on Marx and Engels, Gramsci, and Hegel for their analytical tools. Playing down Locke, who made Americans "intelligent without poetry" (Ralph Waldo Emerson), republicanists drew on Montesquieu, James Harrington, and Machiavelli, who gave Italians "intelligence without property" (Edmund Burke).⁵ The new postliberal generation of historians has also operated from entirely new presuppositions about human nature that would have astonished Marx and the

⁴ Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (Vintage edn., New York, 1957), v–xi, 16–17; and Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America* (New York, 1955), 3–22.

⁵ Emerson, "Historical Notes of Life and Letters in New England," in Perry Miller, ed., *The Transcendentalists* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), 494–502. For Burke's views of Machiavelli, see Conor Cruise O'Brien, *The Suspecting Glance* (London, 1972), 33–49.

Federalist authors alike. Marxists and republicanists both assume that ideas and culture are more important than interests and power as determinants of action. They both think, moreover, that such ideas can best be appreciated by understanding what the subjects of their studies were protesting. Marxists emphasize protests against economic exploitation, republicanists the protests against political corruption.⁶ Marxist and republicanists have similarly joined together in arguing that the new way to write social and intellectual history is to pay close attention to "language," whether it be the language of labor or the language of politics. Finally, Marxists and republicanists have both been pleased to discover in early American history a moral culture of wholesome comrades and active citizens whose sense of solidarity and community helped resist the supposedly corrosive effects of liberal capitalism. Thus, they have somehow found what Tocqueville and Orestes A. Brownson, Emerson and Thoreau, James Fenimore Cooper and Herman Melville, Veblen and Henry Adams, Charles A. Beard and Walter Lippmann, and almost all other American intellectuals, including expatriates like Santayana and even emigres like Hannah Arendt and Herbert Marcuse, so consistently failed to find in America. How has this been accomplished? Their discovery, the Marxists claim, comes from doing history "from the bottom up." Let us begin, then, with those at the very bottom, the American slaves, or the world according to Eugene D. Genovese, where we get to the bottom by way of the top, the planter aristocracy.

GENOVESE'S BOLD SCHOLARSHIP has touched off a debate over the nature of the antebellum South. Older historians like Hofstadter and Hartz viewed the South as subject to the ubiquitous forces of liberal capitalism, but Genovese has insisted that we give credence to the claims of southern culture to be more than a mirror image of the North. Offering what might be called his own version of "southern exceptionalism," Genovese depicted the South as a genuine aristocracy consisting of a stable, hierarchical social structure guided by the sentiments of paternalism and benevolence.⁷ His thesis has been challenged in its details,⁸ but it is the doctrine that inspired the thesis that needs to be questioned. For Marx no theory had any value beyond its efficacy in transforming the world, and the watchwords of Marxism are not stability, hierarchy, and order but conflict, progress, reason, and liberation. Where, then, do we see the Marxist ambition of changing the world by interpreting it more correctly through a privileged ideological perspective? We see it not so much in Genovese's Marxism as in his use of Hegel and Gramsci.

In his long-awaited and prize-winning book, *Roll, Jordon, Roll*, Genovese set out to challenge the view that the plantation system utterly destroyed the slaves' culture

⁶ In stressing protest as a moral act (and rightly so), Marxists and to a certain extent republicanists seem to be suggesting that the social and political language in which protest is conducted is evidence of the absence of economic and egoistic motives. Marx believed, in contrast, that in the state of "pre-history" humankind remains alienated, and the "furies" of interests and power dominate social relations. Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production*, trans. Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, 1 (Moscow, n.d.): 21.

⁷ Genovese, *The Political Economy of Slavery: Studies in the Economy and Society of the Slave South* (New York, 1965), and *The World the Slaveholders Made: Two Essays in Interpretation* (New York, 1969).

⁸ James Oakes, *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders* (New York, 1982), ix-xiii.

and reduced them to a state of helpless dependency. That view had been put forth in the fifties by Stanley M. Elkins,⁹ but Genovese's work even questioned, at least by implication, the conventional interpretation of slavery as the tragedy of American liberalism. The "whole commerce between master and slave," confessed Jefferson, "is a perpetual exercise in the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part and degrading submission on the other."¹⁰ Although one would not expect to find a Marxist scholar helping liberals assuage their propensity to guilt, Genovese provided some relief, if not exculpation, by asking us to view slavery as irony rather than tragedy. Thus, he questioned whether it was theoretically possible to impose absolute obedience on slaves and at the same time expect them to be responsible and productive in their daily lives. The entire edifice of his argument derives from the dubious thesis—first spelled out in Hegel's discourse on "Lordship and Bondage"—that masters want and desperately need recognition from their subjects. This need, Genovese argued, mitigated the brutal conditions of slavery, forcing plantation owners to be paternalistic in their concern for the affections of their own slaves, who in turn could manipulate the conditions of mutual dependency. "To the idea of reciprocal duties they added their own doctrine of reciprocal rights," Genovese claimed. "To the tendency to make them creatures of another's will they counterposed a tendency to assert themselves as autonomous human beings." The case for the viability of slave culture rests on the Hegelian premise that in order to be recognized one must recognize the other in return and that man's highest aim is to refuse to live by a will other than his own. "The slaves," Genovese assured us, "proved themselves good Hegelians."¹¹

Genovese's thesis has influenced some eminent American historians, most notably David Brion Davis. In *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, Davis claimed that Hegel's account of master-slave relations offers "the most profound analysis of slavery ever written." It might be mentioned that Hegel's "Lordship and Bondage" is not about slavery as such or about the objective conflict in master-slave relations. "Lordship and Bondage" is about the inner processes of the reflective mind trying to free itself from its "doubleness" and the subjective conflict within the alienated self that requires recognition for its identity. For Hegel the question was whether the self could constitute itself in the act of observing its own estrangement, a feat that implies that self-consciousness is introspectively discoverable.¹² But the deeper problem is how philosophical speculation can be verified historically. Like Genovese, Davis found himself absorbed in the "intricate dialectic of dependence and independence," a process that results from the master's need to have his identity acknowledged in the eyes of the slave. In the struggle for recognition, the slave possesses the genuine potential for freedom, while the master becomes dependent on the slave as the mirror of his self-affirmation. Both Genovese and Davis were also convinced that a slave could win his freedom

⁹ Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (Chicago, 1959).

¹⁰ Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1787; Vintage edn., New York, 1964), 155.

¹¹ Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York, 1974), 3–7, 67.

¹² Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1975), 558; and Hegel, *Phenomenology of Mind*, 228–40.

through the self-actualizing feats of human labor. "Unlike the master," wrote Davis, "the slave is not a consumer who looks upon 'things' as merely a means of satisfying desires. The products he creates become an objective reality that validates the emerging consciousness of his subjective human reality." By locating consciousness in labor, Genovese and Davis were able to turn the theories of both Hegel and Marx to their purpose and arrive at a solution to the problem of slavery that is profoundly consoling. For in the beginning the master possesses knowledge, and the slave submits to the master's status by working for him. Through his labor the slave reshapes the world and acquires knowledge in the process, whereas the master begins to lose knowledge because he no longer puts it to productive use. In the end the master has only his possessions, while the slave has now acquired the knowledge that will liberate him from bondage. Thus, it "is not fanciful," concluded Davis, "... to see in Hegel's thoughts a message to slaves and the powerless."¹³

The problem with this philosophical solution to servitude is that the exact opposite seems to have happened in history, at least in American history as closely observed by such writers on nineteenth-century society as Tocqueville, Melville, and Thoreau. In *Democracy in America*, Tocqueville offered the disturbing perception that work actually limits rather than liberates those engaged in toil, because the division of labor renders workers less resourceful and more dependent. "At the same time that industrial science constantly lowers the standing of the working class, it raises that of the masters. While the workman confines his intelligence more and more to studying one single detail, the master daily embraces a vast field of vision, and his mind expands as fast as the other's contracts. Soon the latter will need no more than bodily strength without intelligence, while to succeed the former needs science and almost genius. The former becomes more and more like the administrator of a huge empire, and the latter more like a brute."¹⁴

How is it possible to know that the American slave deferred to his master because he possessed knowledge, as opposed to power, and that the master in turn depended on the slave's recognition for his identity as a social being? To understand master-slave relations as a concrete historical phenomenon, and not simply as a deduction from the dialectic, we would need numerous angles of insight. We would need to know, first, the world as the slave saw it and the world as the master saw it; we would also need to know the world as the slave thought the master saw it and the world as the master thought the slave saw it; and then we would need to know what the slave assumed that the master assumed about what he, the slave, was actually thinking apart from his behavior. Melville attempted to explore this solipsistic nightmare in "Benito Cereno," a short story that in some respects presages Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*. The story's hero, the "benevolent" and "charitable" Captain Delano, possesses all the virtues Genovese attributed to aristocracy, yet Delano's genteel moral qualities render him incapable of penetrating the slave's mentality. "Benito Cereno" is a cautionary tale about the ethical attitudes—one is tempted to say "false consciousness"—of the ruling classes,

¹³ Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, 561–62.

¹⁴ Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 556.

who continually fail to understand that between truth and its perception stands the sin of pride.¹⁵

Caution is needed not only in using Hegel but also in using Gramsci. As originally conceived by the Italian Marxist, "hegemony" refers to the process by which a ruling class projects its values on lower classes in order to influence them to see the world as it does and to accept that world view as natural. And Gramsci specifically cited Fordism and Taylorism as examples of how an industrial elite gains legitimacy and domination by disseminating its own morality and social philosophy. Can the concept of hegemony be made to explain the presumed social-psychological bond between master and slave in an aristocratic culture? Hegemony is based on consent, however false; slavery on coercion, however benign. Hegemony exemplifies the deliberate permeation of lower-class consciousness with ruling-class convictions; aristocracy recognizes distinct class divisions with each class having its own peculiar values. Hegemony describes the standardization, uniformity, and homogeneity of a bourgeois culture coming to be dominated by "Puritanical" efficiency;¹⁶ aristocracy prides itself on the differences, gradations, and hierarchies of a life of ease and refinement. Hegemony enables the ruling class to impose its power by imparting its culture to all others; aristocracy rules by maintaining a separate culture that is not meant to be imitated by others. Surely plantation owners had no interest in having slaves take on their world view and emulate their life styles. On the contrary, masters wanted their slaves to do precisely what they themselves refused to do—labor with their hands.

Marxists assume that labor is not only the source of value but also the means by which man overcomes his alienated condition. Strange, then, that they seem to give so little attention to the fate of a race of people who were taught to believe that work was not a spur to human development but the rightful burden of an inferior class. The different attitudes toward work that prevailed in the South and North impressed Tocqueville. "On the left bank of the Ohio work is connected with the idea of slavery; but on the right with well being and progress; on the one side it is degrading, but on the other honorable."¹⁷ Tocqueville knew a good deal about aristocracies, and he could see the vices as well as the virtues of the plantation master. "The Southerner loves greatness, luxury, renown, excitement, enjoyment, and, above all, idleness; nothing forces him to make an effort in order to live, and having no necessary work, he slumbers, not even attempting to do anything useful."¹⁸ Genovese, in contrast, seemed to see only the southerner's virtues, and he asked us to believe that the slaves also saw them. "They by no means deceived themselves about the brutal and seamy side of their masters' lives. But when they

¹⁵ Herman Melville, "Benito Cereno," in *Billy Budd, Sailor and Other Stories*, ed. Harold Beaver (Penguin edn., New York, 1967), 306. For an excellent analysis of this story in the context of perception and domination, see John H. Schaar, *Legitimacy in the Modern State* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1981), 53–87. For a penetrating critique of the moral claims of ruling classes, see Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study in Ethics and Politics* (New York, 1932), 113–41. And for a historical description, see Frederick Law Olmsted, *The Cotton Kingdom*, ed. Arthur Schlesinger, Sr. (1861; Modern Library edn., New York, 1984), 510–63.

¹⁶ Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, eds. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York, 1971), 277–318.

¹⁷ Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 346.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 375.

expressed admiration for the aristocratic features of southern life, they set a high standard for themselves. They noted the more patriarchal masters could display grace, dignity, courtesy, and coolness under fire. Why should the slaves not have admired these qualities?"¹⁹ Perhaps because, as Emerson might have replied, slavery, like poverty, makes aristocratic virtues "a luxury . . . at a market almost too high for humanity."²⁰ Grace, courtesy, and other such modes of conduct represented a leisure-class culture that would not stoop to labor, and those qualities reflected a relaxed life style that may only have served to confirm in the slaves' minds that their own field and housework was irksome, unworthy, and disgraceful, thus reinforcing compulsions of submission by a culture of shame. The distinct roles that plantation owners wanted to sustain excluded the slave from any hope of changing his status. Nor can those roles be easily mediated by Hegelian negations and transformations, for Hegel insisted that only subjects who faced death by risking their lives could liberate themselves—small comfort to those who knew from experience how heavy and how crushing the chains of oppression really were. In denying black slaves what free white workers could enjoy under the real "hegemony" of northern capitalism—the possibility of individual gain by means of productive activity—the plantation system denied American slaves the vital sentiments of emulation and self-esteem, emotions stimulated by the comparative self-evaluations of free men and women in a society of opportunity and potential reward.²¹

The thesis that master and slave shared a common culture because each required the other's recognition fails to consider that slaves were not free subjects, and one can only wonder what value lay in recognition by a slave whose response might have been more feigned than felt. The thesis also ignores the possibility that plantation owners sought confirmation from those above or equal to their status. Francis J. Grund, the Austrian who spent ten years in the United States and studied closely what passed for aristocracy in America, perceived a sang-froid indifference toward the lower orders:

¹⁹ Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 115.

²⁰ Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Wealth," in *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 11 (centenary edn., New York, 1979): 91–95.

²¹ In a chapter titled by a passage from Revelation, "And Everyman According As His Work Shall Be," Genovese did discuss such matters as "time and work rhythms," the question of "a lazy people," and "the black work ethic"; *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 284–324. Almost the entire discussion, however, deals with twentieth-century social theorists like Max Weber and contemporary historians like Eric Hobsbawm. Except for a reference to Harriet Martineau's observation, Genovese's chapter contains little more than hopeful speculation, and it also seems to contradict his thesis that master and slave were tied together by deep psychological bonds of mutual respect based on a need for reciprocal recognition. For the only way slaves could develop a viable work ethic under an aristocratic culture would require, I should think, the renunciation of the master's ideal life style. Jefferson recognized that "in a warm climate, no man will labor for himself who can make another labor for him," and he feared that even the children of plantation masters could be corrupted by watching their fathers rule as idle proprietors. "Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal"; *Notes on Virginia*, 155–56. What Tocqueville had to say about master-servant relations in aristocratic societies is even more telling. Although Tocqueville was not discussing plantation owners and black slaves, he saw little evidence of paternalism on the part of aristocratic masters and little evidence of independence and self-esteem on the part of servants: "In aristocracies the master comes to think of his servants as an inferior and secondary part of himself, . . . The servants, for their part, see themselves in almost the same way, and they sometimes identify themselves so much with the master personally that they become an appendage to him in their own eyes as well as his"; *Democracy in America*, 375.

In all countries in which there exists an hereditary, wealthy nobility, there exists a sort of good-will towards the inferior classes which leads to the relation of patron and client, and through which many an apparent injustice is smoothed over by liberality and kindness; but the mere moneyed aristocracy which is establishing itself in this country, however you may disguise the fact by cunning and soft speeches, or an hyperbolical affectation for republicanism, *hates* the industrious masses over whom it strives to elevate itself. . . .

Your aristocracy, therefore, has not the power of dazzling the lower classes with that air of self-possession and dignity by which gentlemen of rank are at once recognized in Europe. On the contrary, the manners of your rich people in their intercourse with the less successful aspirants to fortune are markedly coarse and vulgar, in order, I believe, to give the latter to understand that they are sufficiently *independent*—that, I think, is the word—not to *care* for their opinion.²²

Grund did see plantation owners treating slaves with “humanity and kindness,” though not from any conscious need for external recognition and identity.²³ In Frederick Law Olmsted’s *The Cotton Kingdom*, we grasp why this was so and why masters and slaves inhabited two different mental worlds. Olmsted visited southern plantations to confirm for himself that the “advantages accruing from slavery” could be easily assumed because slaves were “forced into intercourse with a superior race and made subject to its example.” But he found that his assumption was wrong—yet so deep-seated that he would not reconsider it until after a year’s observation and reflection. His doubts began when he examined “the home of a large and virtuous white family” but saw there little “association” between the two races. Indeed, the overseer had no close acquaintance with slaves, and the owner often did not know their names and occasionally could not even tell if the “chattels” he met on the road belonged to him or his neighbors. Olmsted commented on the slaves’ religion and work habits, but he saw that their “religious exercises are almost the only habitual recreation not purely sensual, from steady dull labor, in which the negroes are permitted to indulge, and generally all other forms of mental enjoyment are discouraged.” Although slaves may have acquired the “shibboleths of Christianity” from their masters, “much less did the slaves have an opportunity to cultivate their minds by intercourse with other white people.” Olmsted’s discovery that slavery had deprived black people of “all the usual influences which tend to nourish the moral and develop the intellectual faculties”—the opposite of his original belief—was, he wrote, “unexpected and painful to me.”²⁴

Little of the dismay experienced by Grund, Olmsted, Tocqueville, and others appears in the works of those contemporary historians who approach the problem of servitude and authority by asking us to believe in the qualities of a leisure class whose pretensions offended many nineteenth-century writers. Genovese waxed rhapsodic about his gentry planters, as though we should forget all that Emerson told us about the corruptions of aristocratic idleness and luxury. “If we blind ourselves to everything noble, virtuous, honest, decent, and selfless in a ruling

²² Grund, *Aristocracy in America* (1839; Harper Torchbook edn., New York, 1959), 145–46.

²³ *Ibid.*, 149.

²⁴ Olmsted, *The Cotton Kingdom*, 466–68.

class," Genovese asked, "how do we account for its hegemony?"²⁵ Thomas Paine believed Edmund Burke's glorification of the British aristocracy was merely a product of his own imagination. "He pities the plumage, but forgets the dying bird," Paine said of Burke, and he "kisses the aristocratical hand that hath purloined him from himself."²⁶ When Jefferson asked John Adams whether America could produce a "natural" aristocracy based on "virtue" and "talent," Adams replied that all aristocracies are only one-tenth talent and nine-tenths tinsel.²⁷ The Antifederalists also distrusted the "well-born" and "able," as did the Jacksonians and other democratic elements.²⁸ Presumably Marxist historians want to save the slave from capitalism by consigning him to the better, kinder world of an aristocracy whose power is not subjected to critical analysis but is treated as legitimate authority because of its purported superior moral qualities. But one can only wonder whether the slave endowed the planter class with the right to govern or whether he submitted because he feared the consequences of not submitting. Hegel's wonderful dialectic on the presumed reversal of relations between master and slave does nothing to relieve us from Simone Weil's deeper and more painful insights into the real meaning of oppression.²⁹

In Marxian analysis political ideas derive from the structure of the economic system, which in turn is determined by labor relations and the mode of production. Whether or not the economic structure created an aristocratic culture in the South is an issue that historians will continue to debate, and Genovese's stimulating scholarship has established the agenda for that debate. Yet there remains another side of the southern mind that drew its ideas not from economic conditions but from political philosophy, not from an aristocratic hegemony but from a Jeffersonian heritage. Louis Hartz brilliantly anatomized the schizoid thinking of John C. Calhoun and other southern intellectuals. When defending slavery, Calhoun proclaimed the South an "organic" society rich with feudal solidarity and paternalism. When defending the right of nullification and secession, he cited Locke's argument that society is a "compact," invoked the Declaration of Independence on the right of revolution, and even concocted the mechanical devices of a "concurrent majority" in order to demand that interests be given greater representation than people.³⁰ If we blind ourselves to all that was desperately liberal in the southern mind, how do we explain its agony?

The same liberal provenance is found in the northern antislavery movement.

²⁵ Genovese, as quoted in "Revisionism: A New, Angry Look at the American Past," *Time*, February 2, 1970, p. 14.

²⁶ Paine, "The Rights of Man," in Harry Hayden Clark, ed., *Thomas Paine: Representative Selections* (New York, 1944), 72.

²⁷ Adams to Jefferson, November 15, 1813, in Lester J. Cappon, ed., *The Adams-Jefferson Letters* (Clarion edn., New York, 1971), 397-402.

²⁸ Herbert J. Storing, *What The Anti-Federalists Were For: The Political Thought of the Opponents of the Constitution* (Chicago, 1981), 15-23, 48-52.

²⁹ "The thought of human misery," Weil wrote of Marx, "distressed him terribly." Yet Marx "took refuge" in his theory of "dialectical materialism" and the supposedly liberating "forces of production," notions that led him and other Marxists to assume that the weak shall inherit the power of the strong without fully considering what oppression had done to the oppressed. See Weil, *Oppression and Liberty*, trans. Arthur Wills and John Petrie (Amherst, Mass., 1973), x, 144-45.

³⁰ Hartz, *Liberal Tradition in America*, 145-77.

Abolitionism evolved from political and religious convictions rooted in the Declaration and the Puritan jeremiad. Yet these deep currents of liberalism and Calvinism are scarcely acknowledged in Eric Foner's *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men*. Here we have another text that, while excellent in its own right, is written by a Marxist who cannot write Marxist history in a way that establishes the validity of Marxism. Indeed, the popular concept of "free labor" and "free soil" was part of the American Lockean sentiment, which held that because man "mixes" his labor with the materials of the earth he is entitled to the fruits of his toil and access to nature.³¹ Foner conceded that the antislavery cause expressed "the middle class goal of economic independence."³² Had Foner probed more closely his central concept of "free labor" as expounded by its most influential spokesman, Abraham Lincoln, the historian of northern antislavery might have been able to inform the historian of southern slavery why aristocracies exploit and oppress. The Lockean-Calvinist conviction that "the Fall" condemned man to work gave Lincoln an answer to a problem that even Marx was unable to resolve.³³ "When . . . in consequence of the first transgression, *labor* was imposed on the race, as a *penalty*—a curse—we find the first born man—the first heir of the curse—was a 'tiller of the ground.'" For Lincoln, the religious origins of human toil, and not man's alienation from the means of production, explain why man has no love for labor and why he imposes it on others, however "decent" and "selfless" he may see himself. "As labor is the common *burthen* of our race, so the effort of *some* to shift their share of the burthen on to the shoulder of *others* is the great, durable curse of the race. Originally a curse for transgression upon the whole race, when, as by slavery, it is conceived on a part only, it becomes the double-refined curse of God upon his creatures."³⁴ While seeing slavery as "sin," Lincoln nevertheless believed, along with Locke and the Puritans, that it was labor that gave meaning to life and dignity to the worker. "I want everyman to have a chance—and I believe a black man is entitled to it—in which he can better his condition—when he may look forward and hope to be a hired laborer this year and the next, work for himself afterwards, and finally to hire men to work for him. This is the true system."³⁵

To the Marxist, of course, Lincoln's "true system"—otherwise known as capitalism—is simply part of the problem. Yet Lincoln wanted to evoke in American slaves the deepest value at the core of all his convictions, the very idea that the virtuous and noble southern aristocracy denied black Americans—ambition.³⁶

³¹ John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Government*, ed. Thomas P. Reardon (Indianapolis, 1952), 16–29.

³² Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War* (New York, 1970), 16.

³³ "How, we ask now, does it happen that man *internalizes* his *labor*, alienates it? How is this alienation rooted in the nature of human development?" With the question dramatically posed, Marx continued, "Let us consider more clearly these relationships." At this point the manuscript breaks off—unfinished. Lloyd D. Easton and Kurt Guddat, eds., *Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society* (New York, 1967), 299–301. Also see my "Thoreau, Marx, and the 'Riddle' of Alienation," *Social Research*, 39 (1972): 571–98.

³⁴ Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 8 vols. (New Brunswick, N.J., 1959), 2: 440; 3: 462.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 4: 24–25.

³⁶ When one considers Tocqueville's observation that servitude can easily lead subjects to "imitate" their masters, one recalls Edmund Burke's observation that ambition is the answer to the mimetic bondage of social

THE VALUES OF AMBITION, ENTERPRISE, AND OPPORTUNITY are precisely the values that the new labor historians refuse to ascribe to the American working class. What is denied is not so much the presence of these values in the early nineteenth-century work force as their indigenous origin in the workers' own desires. Workers are born free, it would seem, but everywhere they become victims of "social control."³⁷ Having been told that slaves were actually more free than we or they had reason to believe, we are now told that workers were less free than they themselves were aware. Education, religion, and other agencies of culture instilled in workers the new industrial habits of discipline and obedience, thereby deflecting their potential for radical resistance. Such controlling institutions were "not a capitalist plot," we are told, but simply the outcome of "new relations of production."³⁸ If aristocratic society was benign, industrial society is bewitching.

The new labor historians who came to prominence in the last decade or so were determined to refute the liberal interpretation that drew on both Tocqueville's insights about the individualistic nature of American society and the John Commons–Selig Perlman interpretation of the conservative nature of the American working class. Studying workers in relation to their union's place in the labor market, Commons and Perlman concluded that workers' consciousness would evolve no further than "economism," an immediate, practical concern for "wage and job control." But if this is what the worker may want, what he needs, according to the "intellectual," is socialism. In his famous debate with Samuel Gompers, however, Morris Hillquit refused to specify an "end" or "ultimate goal" of socialism other than to say that the socialists' demands went "further" and "higher" than those of rival workers' organizations. The basic difference was, Hillquit declared, "a quantitative one—that the Socialist Party wants more than the American Federation of Labor."³⁹ More of what?

Herbert G. Gutman's *Work, Culture, and Society* has been hailed by David Montgomery and many others as offering a compelling answer to the Commons–

relations and to the inertia of life itself. "Although imitation is one of the great instruments used by providence in bringing nations toward perfection, yet if men gave themselves up to imitation entirely, and each followed the other, and so on in an eternal circle, it is easy to see that there could be no real improvement amongst them. Men must remain as brutes do, the same at the end of the day that they are at this day, and that they were in the beginning of the world. To prevent this, God has planted in man a sense of ambition, . . . It is this passion that drives men to all the ways we see in use of signalizing themselves, and that tends to make whatever excites in a man the idea of this distinction so very pleasant." Burke, *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Nature of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, ed. James T. Boulton (1787; South Bend, Ind., 1968), 50. Ambition could lead to freedom and even economic success on the part of slaves who were fortunate to have enlightened and humane masters. It could also lead to a drive for social respectability that had some ironic turns. See the excellent study by Michael P. Johnson and James L. Roark, *Black Masters: A Free Family of Color in the Old South* (New York, 1984).

³⁷ For an intelligent criticism of this trendy line of thought, see Gareth Stedman-Jones, "Class Expression versus Social Control? A Critique of Recent Trends in the Social History of Leisure," *History Workshop*, 4 (1977): 163–70.

³⁸ Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815–1837* (New York, 1978), 140–41.

³⁹ For a discussion of the Commons–Perlman school, see Daniel Bell, *The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties* (New York, 1962), 211–26. On the Gompers–Hillquit debates, see Carl Degler, *Out of Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern Culture* (New York, 1959), 263–68; John P. Diggins, *The American Left in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1973), 44–47; and Theodore Draper, *The Roots of American Communism* (New York, 1963), 24–28. For a full text, see "Hillquit versus Gompers," in Albert Fried, ed., *Socialism in America: From the Shakers to the Third International* (Garden City, N.Y., 1970), 471–95.

Perlman thesis. Gutman has “provided thick descriptions, where others had offered ideological formulas,” acclaimed Montgomery.⁴⁰ These descriptions reveal workers actively shaping their own destinies by engaging in political struggles, using native religious ideas and symbols to protest injustices, and nourishing their own “pre-industrial” values—rooted in ethnic and kinship networks—to resist the new compulsions of time and work imposed by the modern culture of industrial capitalism.⁴¹ Gutman’s scholarship is seminal, but is it radical? He told us that American workers feared “dependency and centralization,” ridiculed Andrew Carnegie’s “Gospel of Wealth,” and invoked the Jeffersonian values of the Declaration. Thus, history “from the bottom up” has seemingly brought forth a Parrington in overalls. Gutman credited the labor leader Joseph McDonnell for forging Progressive reforms and anticipating the twentieth-century welfare state. To which one must say welcome to “the vital center.” A liberal historian can hardly be surprised to discover the Social Gospel being invoked to condemn capitalist greed. What would come as a surprise would be to discover that resistance to new industrial work routines represented a conscious rejection of capitalism on the part of the working class, and not simply a reluctance to undergo the painful ordeal of change. “Thick descriptions” are no substitute for searching analyses of workers’ motives and aspirations. Where Commons and Perlman determined—like Thorstein Veblen and Werner Sombart—what workers wanted, Gutman dramatized what workers did, as though their “pre-industrial” values blessed them with an autonomous culture.⁴² But let us be truly radical and go to the root of things and ask whether the new social historians have anything new to say about the problem of class.

Avoiding that difficult issue, Gutman seemed to assume, as do many American labor historians, that E. P. Thompson definitively resolved the issue of class in his monumental *The Making of the English Working Class*. In his preface Thompson insisted that class is a “relationship” that develops, not a “thing” that can be defined and analyzed as a static phenomenon. “For I am convinced that we cannot understand class unless we see it as a social and cultural formation, arising from the processes which can only be studied as they work themselves out over a considerable period.”⁴³ But to insist that something can only be explained in relation to something else, and that it has the essential character of a “process,” is elusive wordplay that misleads us into thinking that if we simply watch something

⁴⁰ Montgomery, “To Study the People: The American Working Class,” *Labor History*, 21 (1980): 501. Also see Montgomery, “Review Essay: Gutman’s Nineteenth-Century America,” *ibid.*, 19 (1978): 416–29.

⁴¹ Gutman, *Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America* (New York, 1977), 3–117.

⁴² Gutman also dramatized the worry of John Adams and other founders that masses of Americans would have little motive to work. From these observations he developed the argument that late nineteenth-century immigrant workers had to be disabused of their “pre-industrial” attitudes and instilled with new attitudes toward the disciplined life of labor; *ibid.*, 4–5. The deeper issue, as Adams, Veblen, and Sombart recognized, is man’s desire for gain and possession apart from work, a desire fed by the emotion of “emulation.” Even the European peasant was not immune to the desire to acquire the resources to establish a family house and own land. See Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error*, trans. Barbara Bray (New York, 1978), 24–119. Gutman shied away from examining American workers’ attitudes toward acquisition and consumption.

⁴³ Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1963), 11.

develop we shall understand it. Now obviously Thompson meant that we should study workers in the context of their ongoing activities. But one wonders why the term "class" is more useful than, say, "group" or "faction." To argue that class is a "process" experiencing its "formation" is merely to say that something is happening to it without saying what is happening or why, nor what exactly it is that experiences what is happening when it is being formed. "Where there is a process," R. G. Collingwood observed, "there is something which undergoes the process; and it is often possible to know what it is that can undergo a certain process even without knowing what the process is."⁴⁴ What does the working class undergo when it undergoes a process?

A new generation of young, able American social historians has adopted Thompson's idiom in order to try to move beyond the liberal consensus theory and to prove that the American working class held values and attitudes considerably different from the dominant capitalist ideology. In Michael H. Frisch and Daniel J. Walkowitz's recent anthology, *Working-Class America*, we encounter the terms "class formation," "moral economy," "social transformation," "work culture," "linguistic socialization," "defensive insularity," "artisan rituals," "plebian culture," "class conflict," "class solidarity," and other expressions that supposedly prove that this generation of scholars has overcome the "narrower scope" of the Commons-Perlman school by viewing "class as a set of changing historical relationships and not as a fixed group stratification—as a process, not as a series of results."⁴⁵ All the essays are written with intelligence, compassion, and a sense of the complexity of workers' attitudes. The real question is whether the authors, inspired by Thompson's talismanic vocabulary, have faced directly the old dilemma that led many liberal scholars to become sadder but wiser historians of consensus—America is a class society without class consciousness.

The fifties generation eschewed the concept of class, seeing it as part of the baggage of Marx's "labor metaphysic," to use C. Wright Mills's dismissive term.⁴⁶ To reject Marx's idea of class, however, is by no means to suggest that class conflict does not exist. Indeed, it is incorporated into the very structure of the Constitution, which was designed to function precisely by virtue of competing factions all pursuing similar material interests, factions themselves originating in unequal property relations. Marx, however, distinguished "contradiction" (*Widerspruch*) from other related terms such as "conflict" and "antagonism" to insist that, among other things, industrial workers would someday reach a stage of consciousness that ultimately involves the antithesis, and hence the "negation," of bourgeois society.⁴⁷ Engels, writing on the English working class, believed he saw this happening before his very eyes. "The bourgeoisie has more in common with every other nation of

⁴⁴ Collingwood, *The New Leviathan* (New York, 1971), 282.

⁴⁵ Frisch and Walkowitz, eds., *Working-Class America: Essays on Labor, Community, and American Society* (Urbana, Ill., 1983), ix–xvi, 53, 62, 201, 226, 228.

⁴⁶ Mills, "The New Left," in Irving L. Horowitz, ed., *Power Politics and People: The Collected Essays of C. Wright Mills* (New York, 1967), 256.

⁴⁷ Anthony Giddens, *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1981), 230–52, 281–82.

the earth than with the workers in whose midst it lives. The workers speak other dialects, have other thoughts and ideals, other customs and moral principles, a different religion and other politics than those of the bourgeoisie."⁴⁸ The new American social historians may well argue that the working class took the common political and religious values of the middle class and turned them to different ends. To make that argument convincing, however, they would have to demonstrate that different uses of the same values resulted in different qualities of consciousness, that such transformed values offered not only a complaint against capitalism but also a "contradiction" of it, that the American worker wanted, in short, something other than what the middle class had, and that he therefore escaped the obsession that Marxists regard as liberalism's curse on humanity—"possessive individualism."⁴⁹

All that we really find in *Working-Class America*, however, is that the individual's needs are expressed collectively through organized power. Thus, female department store workers struggled to achieve some measure of decision making in the workplace; the Knights of Labor considered turning to the political state; Pittsburgh workers found an outlet for their frustrations in mass entertainments; the American Federation of Labor engaged briefly in "trade union evangelism"; Sidney Hillmann prepared the Amalgamated Clothing Workers for the New Deal; and New York's Irish-American transportation workers had support from both the Communist party and veterans of the Irish Republican Army in their effort to react "to their plight not as isolated individuals but as part of a self-conscious, structured movement." Although we are told that workers were neither passive, individualistic, nor materialistic, we still wonder whether they expressed what Engels called "other thoughts and ideals" distinct from the middle class. One of the demands of Irish-American motormen was that workers not "be discriminated against when they take off special holidays such as May 1, St. Patrick's Day, etc."⁵⁰ I'll drink to that.

The new social historians assume that American workers wanted a noncompetitive society, where class solidarity would protect them from the pernicious influence of liberalism. In fact, it is the historians who yearn for such a society. Sean Wilentz, one of the historians brave enough to take on the problem of class consciousness, believed he found a key to understanding the deepest aspirations of American workers by turning to the advice given by a historian of modern France. Wilentz argued that we can use William Sewell's methodology, "the language of labor," to discover how workers employed a rhetoric that offered "a complete counter system to industrial capitalism,' one that would honor labor rather than property, useful work rather than social privilege, fraternity rather

⁴⁸ Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844* (London, 1968), 124.

⁴⁹ According to Sean Wilentz, "the moral code of possessive individualism crept into the masters' ceremonial speeches"; Wilentz, "Artisan Republican Festivals and the Rise of Class Conflict in New York City, 1788–1837," in Frisch and Walkowitz, *Working-Class America*, 52. According to Tocqueville, "materialism"—the "love of money"—could be seen everywhere in America, a country that lacked an aristocracy to disdain it and a "proletariat" to resist it; *Democracy in America*, 621.

⁵⁰ Frisch and Walkowitz, *Working-Class America*, 104–283, esp. 264, 266.

than selfish competition." Wilentz found New York's union journeymen in the Jacksonian era offering a similar counterideology based "on older ideals of harmony and fraternity but containing a thorough critique of the inequities of capitalism. . . . Furthermore, the class consciousness of the most active entrepreneurs was not some fixed liberal 'bourgeois' outlook; in defense of the emerging order, the entrepreneurs also wished to vindicate commonwealth, virtue, and independence."⁵¹

The difficulty with the Sewell-Wilentz "language of labor" analysis is the assumption that political language explains political conduct. That assumption was rejected by the framers, and, by the time of the Jacksonian era when "class consciousness" was supposedly being reformulated, Tocqueville concluded that the *Federalist* authors were right to believe that no group or faction, whether capital or labor, could be counted on to pursue disinterested political ideas, especially the ideas of classical republicanism that American historians have embraced. In particular, Americans did not think that "virtue" and "commerce" were in conflict. "No longer do ideas, but interests only, form the links between men, and it would seem that human opinions were no more than a sort of mental dust open to the wind on every side and unable to come together and take shape."⁵² Wilentz, however, concluded that American workers remained untouched by the "fixed, liberal, 'bourgeois' outlook" simply because they talked of harmony and solidarity. Focusing solely on speech, language, and rhetoric, he discovered that both the American worker and the entrepreneur were at heart republican humanists dedicated to "commonwealth, virtue, and independence." Assuming that language reveals motive and intent, Wilentz observed, "As they spoke of independence, the artisans also shied away from endorsing the pursuit of self-interest for its own sake."⁵³ Should we not expect to do so when speaking on such patriotic holidays as the Fourth of July? When we ask for evidence of what workers wanted, and not simply for accounts of the patriotic rhetoric they used, we find that their behavior contradicted their language. For it appears that workers did not, in fact, consistently practice republicanism and subordinate their private interests to the public good, the "commonwealth." The New York journeymen insisted "that they be paid," as Wilentz acknowledged, "the full value of their labor—a price they alone, and not the market, could fix."⁵⁴ However high-minded the language, it seems that workers shared with capitalists the desire to control markets and fix prices. So much for "virtue."

Thus far American labor historians have taken us three steps backward. Unable to show that workers are radical, historians try to prove that their behavior is ethical (E. P. Thompson's "moral economy").⁵⁵ Unable to find a proletariat, historians

⁵¹ Wilentz, "Artisan Republican Festivals," 63–64.

⁵² Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 433.

⁵³ Wilentz, "Artisan Republican Festivals," 49.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁵⁵ Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present*, 50 (1971): 76–136. Thompson demonstrated that English workers protested high food prices in the new market economy in the name of older rights and customs pertaining to communal welfare. The defense of "the old moral economy of provision" against the harsh impersonality of market fluctuations indicates that

then depict workers as patriotic. Unable to document the Marxist idea of class consciousness, historians have now adopted Machiavelli's and Montesquieu's idea of classical republicanism without seeming to understand that the idea of civic virtue had little to do with labor as the source of value (Marx), the origin of property (Locke), or the will of God (Calvin). As for the "language of labor," we should ask the same question that John Adams asked about Machiavelli's and Montesquieu's discourses on the language of classical politics: are political ideas causes that determine conduct? We shall return to that question shortly. The point here is merely to remind social historians that political language may offer little more than what Marxists themselves call "mystifications" and the literary critic Kenneth Burke has called "eulogistic coverings." Political rhetoric may only be a verbal strategy for dealing with situations in which conflicting interests must be addressed in language that does not admit the ingredients of motivation. "And the very important thing among these 'contexts of situations,'" Burke observed, is "the kinds of factors considered by Bentham, Marx, and Veblen, the material interests (of private or class structure) that you symbolically defend or symbolically appropriate or symbolically align yourself with in the course of making your assertions."⁵⁶ The rhetoric and symbols of idealism can be appropriated to defend the interests of either capital or labor, but the activity of language itself tells us little about what is going on independently of the way in which words are used, particularly if they are used as rhetorical strategies. That both Whigs and Jacksonians could appropriate republican ideology and accuse their opponents of "corruption" and "tyranny" while claiming for themselves "virtue" and "liberty" should caution us about the limits of language in explaining historical reality and human motivation.⁵⁷ To resort to language to account for behavior implies that political discourse and public speech have revelatory value, which would be possible only if there existed precise rules governing the use of language. Without such rules, we must remain skeptical of the recent marriage of Marxism and classical republicanism. For we should remember that "virtue" in the classical sense implies the existence of standards external to those who claim it simply by uttering its language—critical, objective standards whereby the claims can be scrutinized in light of the "commonwealth" and *res publica*. Marxist historians, however, seem reluctant to assess critically such claims, and thus we are led to believe that both the nineteenth-century southern aristocracy and northern working class were genuinely "virtuous" and beyond the sins of materialism. But the question that must now be addressed is whether republican ideology really offers an alternative to the Lockean idea of consensus, whether Machiavelli and Montesquieu can replace Locke, Tocqueville, and Lincoln and do for American history what Hegel, Marx, and Gramsci were supposed to do—liberate us from liberalism.

English workers had available to them a familiar means of legitimating the justice of their cause, not that they were radical in the sense of placing new political and moral demands on their own behavior. See *ibid.*, 132.

⁵⁶ Kenneth Burke, *The Philosophy of Literary Form* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1973), 111–12. On "mystifications" and "eulogistic coverings," see Kenneth Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969), 104–10.

⁵⁷ Arthur Schlesinger, jr., *The Age of Jackson* (New York, 1945), 18–29, 267–82; and Daniel Walker Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs* (Chicago, 1979), 69–95.

THE IDEA THAT LIBERALISM HAS PERVADED America's political culture is a "myth" and an "obsession," declared J. G. A. Pocock, the eminent intellectual historian of political ideas. In *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition*, Pocock explained why those of us brought up on Hartz, Hofstadter, and Perry Miller have been led astray. "It is notorious that American culture is haunted by myths, many of which arise out of the attempt to escape history and then to regenerate it. The conventional wisdom among scholars who have studied their growth has been that the Puritan covenant was reborn in the Lockean contract, so that Locke himself has been elevated to the station of patron saint of American values and the quarrel with history has been seen in terms of a constant attempt to escape into wilderness and repeat a Lockean experiment in the foundation of natural society. The interpretation put forward here stresses Machiavelli at the expense of Locke."⁵⁸ Joyce Appleby and Isaac Kramnick have challenged Pocock's argument, demonstrating not only the influence of economic liberalism on Jefferson's values but also the importance of Locke's philosophy of natural rights at the time of the Revolution.⁵⁹ The widely influential Pocockian school of thought needs to be questioned about the claims made both for the extent of political virtue in America and for the assumption that political language illuminates the meaning of political behavior.

Pocock assumed that his case for "the Americanization of virtue" had support in Bernard Bailyn's seminal study *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*.⁶⁰ Yet Bailyn's work demonstrates that the colonists were more successful in using political ideas to resist power than to realize virtue. Although Americans may have seen themselves acting virtuously in opposing English threats of "tyranny," "corruption," and "conspiracy," in the post-Revolutionary Articles of Confederation they emerged more remote than ever from two ideals central to classical civic virtue: sovereignty and self-control, the duty to recognize as an act of patriotism the authority of the state and the duty to refrain as an act of citizenship from the corruptions of interest politics. From the English dissent tradition the colonists obtained a "rhetoric of accusation" with which to fulminate against the menace of power, as I tried to point out in a recent study of American political thought.⁶¹ But the classical tradition, exemplified in Thomas Gordon and John Trenchard's *Cato's Letters*, provided a rhetoric of affirmation demanding citizens to subordinate their "passions" to "the Publick" and "general Welfare" in order that "they may be esteemed virtuous and good."⁶² The problem with asking people to make such sacrifices, George Washington informed the Continental Congress in 1778, was that the rhetoric of virtue and patriotism had no basis in "the rule of Action" that

⁵⁸ Pocock, "The Myth of John Locke and the Obsession with Liberalism," in J. G. A. Pocock and Richard Ashcraft, eds., *John Locke* (Los Angeles, 1980), 3–24, and *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, N.J., 1975), 545.

⁵⁹ Appleby, "What is American in the Political Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson?" *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 39 (1982): 287–309; and Kramnick, "Republican Revisionism Revisited," *AHR*, 87 (1982): 629–44.

⁶⁰ Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, 507–13.

⁶¹ John Patrick Diggins, *The Lost Soul of American Politics: Virtue, Self-Interest, and the Foundations of Liberalism* (New York, 1984).

⁶² Gordon and Trenchard, as quoted in Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, 471–72.

actually governs conduct, namely the "prospect of Interest or some reward."⁶³ Washington himself may have been praised by his contemporaries as a shining example of classical virtue and valor. Yet he anticipated the framers of the Constitution in his conviction that people are moved by interest and expediency, which presuppose divisiveness, rather than by patriotism and virtue, which imply unanimity and duty.

Although the classical idea of political virtue has become an important influence in modern historical scholarship, it had no central importance in four of the most significant documents of the Revolutionary and Constitution eras: Paine's *Common Sense*, Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, Hamilton, Jay, and Madison's *Federalist*, and John Adams's *A Defense of the Constitutions of the Government of the United States of America*. Pocock has described Adams's *Defense* as the "last major work of political theory written within the unmodified tradition of classical republicanism."⁶⁴ No doubt Adams valued republican political institutions like "mixed" government, but he set out to modify, indeed refute, classical political ideas like patriotism and virtue. Adams was haunted by the thought that ancient republics died because they tried to live by the wrong ideas, and he would have had little patience with modern historians who advise us to understand politics through language and "linguistic paradigms."⁶⁵ Adams found Machiavelli's teachings on virtue "humorous entertainment" because his "pious exhortations" about patriotism obscured the true motives of action. Montesquieu also flattered human nature by defining virtue in language that excluded the harsher truths about humanity and confused the noble reasons found in texts for the actual causes operating in history. "If the absence of avarice is necessary to republican virtue," asked Adams, "can you find any age or country in which republican virtue existed?" The *Federalist* authors similarly believed that the "cloudy medium" of language in which political discourse takes place seldom reveals actual motives because all factions deny self-interest when using the rhetoric of virtue. Distinguishing words from deeds, the framers resisted confusing reasons for causes; distinguishing language from behavior, they successfully demonstrated that human action is not necessarily governed by the political ideas that describe it, at least not by classical ideas like virtue, which, having little to do with causing action, cannot be counted on to control it.⁶⁶

⁶³ Washington to John Bannister, April 21, 1778, reprinted in Edmund S. Morgan, *The Genius of George Washington* (New York, 1977), 50–54.

⁶⁴ Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, 526.

⁶⁵ J. G. A. Pocock, *Politics, Language, and Time: Essays on Political Theory* (New York, 1973), 3–41.

⁶⁶ John Adams, *A Defense of the Constitutions of the Government of the United States of America*, ed. Charles Francis Adams, 3 vols. (Boston, 1850–56), 2: 25, 114, 3: 488–99; and *Federalist*, Nos. 1, 37. Although Machiavelli has come to be praised for his assessments of historical events, Adams sometimes judged his *History of Florence* as little more than propaganda. "One is astonished at the reflection of Machiavelli, 'Such was the spirit of patriotism among them in those days, that they cheerfully gave up their private interest for the public good,' when every page of his history shows, that the public good was sacrificed everyday, by all parties, to the private interest, friendships, enmities." Machiavelli misled his readers by attributing political problems to "fortune" and the "iniquity of the times" rather than to man himself. The language of classical politics deceived because it presented only the "reason of mankind" rather than exposing the "nature of mankind." The Calvinist Adams advised Americans not to trust historians who wrote only of "virtue" and "patriotism" without acknowledging that "the Fall" rendered all claims to disinterested behavior an illusion. "If, in reading history, the glosses and

Although the framers doubted that virtue was a motivational force in history, some contemporary historians, seemingly unaware that political language may have no causal significance, find virtue almost everywhere in nineteenth-century America. Since Andrew Jackson happened to have used the term, he now has become an heir of republican ideology. In revisionist scholarship Jackson is depicted as a classical statesman purging the "corruption" of the John Quincy Adams administration and restoring "morality" to government, and the war with the Bank of the United States by "the last of the Machiavellian Romans" and his espousal of "agrarian democracy" offer further evidence of the struggle of "virtue" against "commerce."⁶⁷ Never mind that Jackson's own "spoils system" replicated the degeneration of politics by "patronage" and "influence" that English Whig republicans had feared, that his war with the "monster" Bank aimed to liberate an emergent capitalism from monopoly charters, and that he held up as "the bone and sinew" of the country not the active political citizen so precious to the Machiavellian tradition but the "farmer, mechanic, and laborer" so precious to the Lockean tradition.⁶⁸ In Jacksonianism, virtue was associated with productive work, a sentiment that had deep roots in seventeenth-century Puritanism, eighteenth-century liberalism, and early nineteenth-century Christian and utopian socialism—all distinct from the tradition of classical politics where labor was never regarded as a sanctified "calling" or an inalienable natural right.

If the great danger to classical virtue in Europe was time, in America it was space. In Old World republicanism the passage of time threatened to soften the citizen's moral fiber and render him forgetful, complacent, and corruptible. The *Federalist* authors, however, looked to "that veneration which time bestows" on political ideas and institutions. But in extending "the sphere of government," the framers created a large republic purposely designed to distance the people from the state, whose influence on the minds of its inhabitants would only be "transient." "The true distinction between these [Sparta and other ancient republics] and the American governments lies in the total exclusion of the people, in their collective capacity, from any share" in the direct operations of government.⁶⁹ Whether or not the framers aimed to protect property from the will of popular majorities, as the Progressive historians insisted, this strategy reversed the ancient classical tradition that had envisioned the proximity of the people to the *polis* as the best means of sustaining their virtue through active civic participation. Neoclassical historians, however, reverse the classical tradition by making the spacious American environment the new foundation of virtue. "We are on the verge of a theory in which frontier, not constitution, is the 'soul of the republic,'" declared Pocock. After discussing the western, mythical imagery of Jacksonianism, Henry Nash Smith's *The Virgin Land*, and George Berkeley's popular stanza, "Westward the course of empire takes its

reflections of historians are taken implicitly, a mistaken judgment will be formed"; *Defense of the Constitutions*, 2: 30, 52–58, 103, 109, 3: 254, 363, 479.

⁶⁷ Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom, 1822–1832* (New York, 1981), ix–xi; and Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, 535–39.

⁶⁸ Andrew Jackson, "Currency and Banking Policy," in Joseph L. Blau, ed., *Social Theories of Jacksonian Democracy* (Indianapolis, 1954), 17.

⁶⁹ *Federalist*, Nos. 49, 10, 27, 63.

way," Pocock assured us that the "extent to which the Constitution entailed an abandonment of virtue is more than compensated by the *virtu* of the frontier." The "paradigm of virtue" has become so omnivorously paradigmatic that it has even incorporated the great American originator of the frontier hypothesis. "We can further see why it was that Frederick Jackson Turner adopted the tones of an American Isaiah when proclaiming the closing of the frontier in 1890 [1893]; one phase in the prophetic scheme, one revolution of the wheel in the struggle between virtue and corruption, was drawing to an end."⁷⁰

When overwhelmed by inclusions, we are compelled to ask for distinctions. A study of the American West as symbol and myth enables us to understand why the frontier did more to eviscerate civic virtue than to nourish it. The figures studied by Henry Nash Smith and others—figures like James Fenimore Cooper, Davy Crockett, and Kit Carson—represent that characteristic American longing for solitary individualism unrestrained by the demands of politics, which Emerson dismissed as mere "cunning" and Thoreau as "the gizzard of society."⁷¹ In making politics and public duty the source of virtue, classical republicanism treats nature as though it were a moral void fit only for brutes.⁷² In making nature and wilderness the ground spring of value, American writers have treated politics as though it were an activity fit only for scoundrels. Cooper's *The Bravo* (1830) aimed to expose eighteenth-century Venetian statecraft where Machiavellianism had sacrificed truth and morality to power and expediency. Many nineteenth-century literary intellectuals discovered a profound disjunction between political man and the natural world: Cooper in the forests, Melville at sea, Twain on the river, Thoreau by his pond. When classical political issues were specifically addressed, as in Melville's *Billy Budd*, the Christian indictment is unmistakable, as Captain Vere upholds "duty" and "virtue" by putting to death innocence and goodness.⁷³ Rarely did the writer make politics, which Henry Adams defined as "the systematic organization of hatreds," a noble theme of literature.⁷⁴ Nor did Turner see himself as part of the classical tradition. Classical politics looks backward to the "first principles" of a republic at the "moment" of its founding; Turner looked outward to the frontier to escape the past. Classical theorists see republicanism as a continuous European tradition; Turner rejected the heritage of republicanism to formulate a new theory of democracy on native grounds. Pocock advised us to look westward to find political virtue; Turner lamented that frontier democracy had, by encouraging hostility to legal training and deferential leadership, "destroyed the ideals of statesmanship." The crisis of American democracy that alarmed Turner had less to do with classical politics than with the crisis of closure that

⁷⁰ Pocock, *Machiavellian Moment*, 534, 539, 544.

⁷¹ Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Politics," in Mark Van Doren, ed., *The Portable Emerson* (New York, 1946), 188–204; and Henry David Thoreau, "Life without Principle," in *Thoreau: Walden and Other Essays*, ed. Joseph Wood Krutch (New York, 1962), 373.

⁷² For R. G. Collingwood's chapter on "Society and Nature in the Classical Politics," see *The New Leviathan*, 257–67.

⁷³ Hannah Arendt offered a classical interpretation of *Billy Budd*, one that completely misses Melville's Calvinist indictment of "pride," which isolated Captain Vere from his crew. See Arendt, *On Revolution* (New York, 1963), 77–83.

⁷⁴ Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (1918; New York, 1931), 7.

affected man's relations to land and labor. The liberal concept of work was threatened by the loss of free land, which provided endless possibilities for men to hurl themselves against the environment and build anew. Turner assigned particular merit to such activity that entailed cooperative endeavor. "In the spirit of the pioneer's 'house raising,'" he observed, "lies the salvation of the Republic."⁷⁵

Although the classical tradition purported to show how a republic could be established and sustained through a politically active and virtuous citizenry, the framers established the American republic and Lincoln succeeded in preserving it without necessarily drawing on that tradition. Thus, we need to reconsider the views of twentieth-century postliberal republicanist and Marxist historians in light of the views of nineteenth-century American writers and statesmen. The republicanist scholar would like to trace the American republic back to its roots in classical antiquity. No doubt some nineteenth-century thinkers like John C. Calhoun and Rufus Choate valued the classical tradition. But the majority of writers and statesmen, figures like Cooper, John Quincy Adams, Orestes Brownson, the later Noah Webster, Lyman Beecher, Theodore Parker, and Lincoln, believed that the republic had its roots in spiritual rather than secular sources. "Our own republic in its Constitution and laws is of heavenly origin," wrote Beecher. "It was not borrowed from Greece or Rome, but from the Bible. Where we borrowed a ray from Greece or Rome, stars and suns were borrowed from an other source—the Bible. There is no position more susceptible of proof than that, as the moon borrows from the sun her light, so our Constitution borrows from the Bible its elements, proportions and power."⁷⁶

Beecher's claim might not have been endorsed by Lincoln, who looked to the Declaration of Independence as spiritually regenerative. But a more immediate issue is the way in which contemporary Marxists borrow ideas from classical traditions and thereby look to the past for liberation and not, as Marx himself advised, to the future. In doing so, the Marxist insists that republicanism and liberalism are essentially incompatible, and, to the extent that we can find American workers using republican ideology in their patriotic orations, we can be assured that they were shunning the temptations of private interests and upholding the ideals of citizenship. Yet Thoreau, Cooper, Twain, and others perceived a different development taking place in nineteenth-century America—republicanism provided the ideology that enabled "competitive individualism" to undermine community and fraternity. Twain regarded as "jackasses" the workers and miners who listened to the language of republicanism. "A minister pronounced benediction, and the patriotic little gathering disbanded. The Fourth of July was safe." Workers and owners alike paid lip service to the republican tradition as politics became the pursuit of capitalism by other means.⁷⁷

The tendency to see in the working class patterns of behavior resistant to

⁷⁵ Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), 205, 271, 358.

⁷⁶ Beecher, *Works*, 1 (Boston, 1852–53), 189, as cited in George Armstrong Kelly, *Politics and Religious Consciousness in America* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1984), 135.

⁷⁷ Paul Schmidt, "Mark Twain's Satire on Republicanism," *American Quarterly*, 5 (1953): 344–56.

capitalism rests on an assumption whose acceptance requires a willing suspension of belief. The assumption is that, because workers proceeded collectively in a "structured movement" toward their goals, their behavior is somehow free of any taint of the "possessive individualism" characteristic of only the middle class. Workers may act to change and improve their conditions, and possibly benefit from such actions, yet they are not doing so for reasons of "self-interest for its own sake." On the contrary, both the rhetoric and rationale for such actions come from "commonwealth" or "community," which may be a labor union, neighborhood, parish, ethnic enclave, or family and kinship network. Why such communal behavior should be regarded as morally superior and endowed with a higher political consciousness than liberalism is curious. For it could well be that propinquity itself undermines civic virtue. That man attaches greater affection to his family than to the community, and to his community than to the country at large, illustrated to Hamilton what Tocqueville would later call privatization: the American who "withdraws" into himself and household and shuts the door to the outside world, to the demands of citizenship that require private interests to be directed toward the *res publica*.⁷⁸

That men find sanctions for their actions in political ideas does not mean that the historian can be assured that the ideas themselves explain the actions. Marxists want to see workers participating collectively, and republicanists want to see Americans taking part in public-spirited activities, as the language of classical politics would imply. But why either form of behavior offers a solution to the problem of virtue is difficult to see. Is collective action somehow better than the familiar interest politics associated with liberalism? Perhaps we should remember that the *Federalist* authors regarded people acting as "factions" even more prone to turbulent "passions" and "interests" than people acting as individuals. Indeed, they seemed to have anticipated what Martin Luther King, Jr., learned from Reinhold Niebuhr: "groups tend to be more immoral than individuals."⁷⁹ The moral limitations of man may be magnified as he becomes part of a labor movement or enters into a political society, making a disinterested commitment to the public good all the more difficult. It could well be—as Hamilton and Madison warned in the *Federalist*, Lincoln in his Lyceum address, and King in his "Letter from a Birmingham Jail"—that in large groups man has less capacity for reason, conscience, justice, love, and self-transcendence, less capacity, that is, to be truly virtuous and consider the needs and interests of others as paramount.

Does private interest disappear when it puts on a public face? Today historians are investigating public rituals and patriotic holidays with all the skills of cultural anthropologists. But just how the festivities and pieties of a Fourth of July celebration help us see evidence for civic virtue and class consciousness remains unclear. Observing the same celebrations taking place in Jacksonian America, Tocqueville asked us to consider the possibility that "patriotism . . . is most often

⁷⁸ *Federalist*, No. 17. Tocqueville saw individualism as an expression of self-centeredness that disposed Americans to turn away from society. See my *Lost Soul of American Politics*, 242–43.

⁷⁹ Martin Luther King, Jr., "Letter from a Birmingham Jail," in Ronald Lora, ed., *America in the 60s: Cultural Authorities in Transition* (New York, 1974), 55.

an extension of individual egoism."⁸⁰ He also asked us to consider why republicanism may no longer explain America.

UNLIKE MANY AMERICAN INTELLECTUALS, TOCQUEVILLE was untroubled by America's intense egoism and individualism, those private sentiments so destructive to classical republicanism and to socialism alike. For America was different, unique, a modern liberal society whose "exceptionalism" meant that it did not require two European ideas for its interpretation. America did not require socialism, which focuses on class formations, and it did not require republicanism, which focuses on political institutions. What then explained America?

One common assumption holds that Tocqueville became an advocate of individualism and that the methodological implications of that idea blinded him to the class realities of America. Yet Tocqueville denied that society can be logically explained by the conscious motives of individuals. "I do not speak of individuals who do not effect the essential phenomenon of history," Tocqueville advised. "I speak of classes, which alone should concern the historian."⁸¹ America, however, lacked an *ancien régime*. What precluded the development of "proletarian" class consciousness, therefore, was not only the absence of huge concentrations of wealth and poverty characteristic of the Old World but also the absence of an entrenched aristocracy, which meant there was no class in America to denigrate the value of labor, deny the principle of equality, and resist the forces of social change. In America, where "every honest calling is honorable," the work ethic found universal recognition (at least outside the South), and the people grew increasingly alike in their attitudes because there was no distinct separate class whose aristocratic arrogance provoked opposing class mentalities based on genuinely different interests and ideals. In Europe both the middle class and the working class found their identity in struggling against the *ancien régime*, which preached the virtues of paternalism when confronted by the rights of labor. In America the middle class and working class faced each other and, lacking a class enemy, became increasingly indistinguishable, or, to use a more contemporary expression, one-dimensional.⁸²

In America classical republicanism suffered the same fate as class consciousness. "The Americans are not a virtuous people, and nevertheless they are free," reflected Tocqueville, struck by the thought that the long historical connection between liberty and virtue had collapsed in America. Tocqueville wrote *Democracy in America* with the Machiavellian legacy in mind and seemingly with Montesquieu looking over his shoulder. "We must not take Montesquieu's idea in a narrow sense," Tocqueville wrote elsewhere. "What he understands by virtue is the moral power which each individual exercises over himself and which prevents him from violating the rights of others." The American people lack that moral quality, for

⁸⁰ Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 367.

⁸¹ Tocqueville, as quoted in Raymond Aron, *Main Currents in Sociological Thought*, trans. Richard Howard and Helen Weaver (Garden City, N.Y., 1968), 265.

⁸² Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 550–54; and Hartz, *Liberal Tradition in America*, 89–142.

"it is not disinterestedness that is great, it is interest that is taken for granted." The result may be the same, but in "America it is not that virtue is great, but temptation that is small." Small? The framers assumed that people of all classes were prone to "vex and oppress" others, and their Calvinist suspicions led them to adopt republican solutions. But Tocqueville saw, as did Henry Adams, that the solutions were illusions. "I have always considered what is called a mixed government to be a mere chimera. There is in truth no such thing as a mixed government (in the sense usually given to the words), since in any society one finds in the end some principle of action that dominates all others." Those thinkers who had looked to eighteenth-century England as a model were mistaken. "The mistake is due to those who, constantly seeing the interests of the great in conflict with those of the people, have thought only about the struggle and have not paid attention to the result thereof, which was more important. When a society really does have a mixed government, that is to say, one equally shared between contrary principles, either a revolution breaks out or that society breaks up."⁸³

Tocqueville departed boldly from classical traditions in order to provide an extrapolitical focus that enables the historian to see a long-hidden truth: the nature of society explains the stability of government. Thus, freedom in America would be preserved not by the forms and structures of political institutions but by the peculiar habits, attitudes, and values of a people, by the *moeurs* that have been conditioned by society itself. Even the idea of a republic had to be redefined. "What is meant by a 'republic' in the United States is the slow and quiet action of a society upon itself."⁸⁴ By emphasizing society and social relations over government and political institutions, Tocqueville draws our attention to the "principle of action" that explains America. Of the seemingly diverse, restless American character, Tocqueville asked: "What makes of them a people? *Interest*. That's the secret. Individual interest which sticks through at each instant, *interest* which, moreover, comes out in the open and calls itself a social theory." Tocqueville knew his discovery was "a long way" from classical republicanism, and he tried to convince his French contemporaries that acquisitive individualism could be elevated into something approximating "a sort of refined and intelligent selfishness," or "enlightened self-interest," or possibly even a "virtuous materialism."⁸⁵

Tocqueville did for American thought what David Hume had done for British political theory; he brought the whole legacy of classical politics based on the conflict between public "virtue" and private "interests" to a nonpolitical denouement.⁸⁶ His perception that Americans shared the same material concerns, and

⁸³ Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 251. For Tocqueville's remarks on Montesquieu, see Aron, *Main Currents in Sociological Thought*, 258.

⁸⁴ Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 395.

⁸⁵ For Tocqueville's redefinition of "interests" as "virtuous" and his analysis of egoism and individualism, see James T. Schleifer, *The Making of Tocqueville's Democracy in America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980), 233–59.

⁸⁶ Just as Hume rejected the classical notion that virtue and commerce are incompatible, Tocqueville departed from both classical and socialist traditions in rejecting the notion that the pursuit of self-interest leads to a society's disintegration. For individualism could not flower unless society already enjoyed "invisible" *moeurs* that would compel men in their economic pursuits to conform to accepted principles of conduct, principles like honesty, trust, and reliability. But, in light of Henry Adams's more troubled perceptions of post-Civil War industrial America, many of Tocqueville's hopeful assumptions about America's "virtuous materialism" may seem dubious at best. See my *The Lost Soul of American Politics*, 255–59.

that worker and capitalist would legitimate their pursuits in the language of republicanism, does much to explain why class consciousness could not develop in a country that lacked the class structure to produce it. Had America been truly a class society, as the framers assumed when they tried to organize the divisions of government to balance its presumably conflicting constituencies, America would either have broken out in revolution or broken up as a political unit. Tocqueville was no celebrator of "consensus," which he would have regarded as a form of majoritarian "tyranny." His genius was his ability to uphold simultaneously contradictory political values and, in doing so, to penetrate the essential truths of America. A thinker of aristocratic sensibilities, he saw in the idea of equality a striving for conformity that rendered life drab and dreary. "The sight of such universal uniformity saddens and chills me, and I am tempted to regret that state of society which has ceased to be." Yet Tocqueville was also a man of genuine democratic sympathies, and, rather than succumbing to illusions about the old order, he concluded his study with a Lincolnesque affirmation of American ideals. Equality promotes "not the particular prosperity of the few, but the greater well-being of all. . . . Equality may be less elevated, but it is more just; and in its justice lies its greatness and beauty."⁸⁷

Tocqueville saw through the pretenses of aristocratic "paternalism," discerned in middle-class *moeurs* the meaning of the latter-day concept of "hegemony," demonstrated how social forces had superseded political institutions to render classical republicanism irrelevant to America, and expounded, as did Lincoln, the priority of land and labor to politics and virtue. In Old World republicanism property was regarded as an object of right and a precondition of virtue to the extent that ownership gives man the independence to resist the corruptions of ministerial politics. Yet property had no necessary connection to labor and the dignity and value of work. Edmund Burke's observation that Machiavelli was "intelligence without property" suggests the flaw of classical republicanism. In placing civic virtue ahead of man's means of subsistence and freedom, Machiavelli violated a sentiment that would be shared not only by Lincoln and Tocqueville but also by thinkers as diverse as Dostoevskii, Emerson, Locke, Marx, Veblen, and Tolstoi. First give people land so that they can feed themselves and overcome their alienation through labor and workmanship, then ask them to be virtuous. Therein lies the liberal synthesis.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 704.

⁸⁸ Whatever their differences, orthodox Marxists and liberals once believed that the oppressed were oppressed precisely because they had been denied the freedom to determine for themselves their own human development. Some present-day historians, however, come close to arguing that the conditions of slavery and working-class life produced black and white Americans with a mentality sufficiently free and determined to be resistant to capitalism and "possessive individualism." Should the historian, then, rejoice that both slavery and wage labor produced superior moral persons and, therefore, regret the abolishment of the conditions that presumably created good human beings? On the "delusion" that a specific class or race is morally better than others, see Bertrand Russell, "The Superior Virtue of the Oppressed," in *Unpopular Essays* (New York, 1950), 58–64.

Comment:

I FIND JOHN DIGGINS'S ESSAY both tantalizing and confusing. He engages, although not very clearly, so many issues in American history that a book could not clarify half of them. Thus, my main reaction to his elusive arguments is intense frustration. I wish he would speak more clearly, draw issues more sharply. I compliment his prose. It contains cleverness aplenty, and behind the elusive arguments one senses the intense personal commitments that give moral force, even in the absence of focus, to the whole. Also, I welcome his iconoclasm, his effort to dislodge either verbal or philosophical icons, to tear apart the uncriticized fashions of a discipline. But, as a critical essay, I have to conclude that it largely fails. It is not at all fair to the historians held up to judgment. It confuses rather than clarifies a range of definitional issues. It drastically oversimplifies the empirical issues that are at stake.

Diggins's central thesis is vague at best. He seems to think that some core of beliefs and preferences, widely shared by people at every level of income and status, has been present and determining throughout American history. He calls these beliefs "liberal." This claim is implicitly an empirical one, a matter of fact. If he could only specify more carefully the content of these purported common beliefs, then historians could begin the almost impossible task of confirming or falsifying such a thesis. But, as presented, his pervasive "liberalism" has little clear content. This liberalism, he argues, has taken two forms—individualistic and pluralistic. This begs a definition. All that I can discover as a concrete component of his liberalism is a love of property. Which type of property? Different types are in opposition to each other and reflect quite varied value systems, but Diggins makes no distinctions. To point to a widespread love of some unspecified possessions is no more revealing than to suggest that everyone needs, and usually wants, to eat. Even though a love of property seems, alone, to be essential to liberalism, Diggins does suggest that this love has implications, some positive in his moral scale—it supports ambition, suggests economic opportunity, and entails certain forms of equality—and some negative—an ever-unsatiated desire for acquisition, anticomunal or alienating forms of self-seeking, and an ever-present propensity to exploit other people. If anything, his claim that Americans are all liberals—or, as he sometimes expresses it, liberal capitalists—is more a lament than a celebration, a diagnosis of social pathology more than a vindication of the status quo. His condemnation of historians who reject his thesis is thus moral as well as factual. They do not address the real problems, but deny them. They overlook the

tragic aspects of American history. They miss the deeper conflicts and contradictions.

Diggins's protagonists are all "postliberal" historians, those who deny the widespread acceptance in America of his form of liberalism. But he focuses his criticism on two tenuously related historical circles, those he labels Marxists and republicans. I find his analysis of both groups tendentious, unfair, and ultimately more confusing than edifying. I am not sure, but I think his Marxists and republicans agree on only one point—large numbers of Americans were never liberal in Diggins's sense. This means that they never accepted private accumulation as a primary value but esteemed more highly such other values as leisure, communal solidarity, or the moral complacency that goes along with "virtue," another loaded word.

Diggins begins with an attack on Eugene Genovese or, more correctly, on a reductionist caricature of Genovese's views. Genovese has tried to understand the beliefs and values of a planter elite in the South and to explore the psychological subtleties that complicate the enormously varied relationship between masters and servants. Behind this effort, Diggins finds, quite incorrectly in my opinion, an apology for southern planters and an overly benign view of slavery. Diggins seems to believe that a majority of slave owners embraced his liberalism, at least in its more vulgar forms. White southerners were not unique in their beliefs and affirmed ideals but in how far they fell short of adhering to such ideals. They sinned against their own liberal creed. Blacks were in all ways the victims. So interpreted, Diggins has begged a series of factual questions, in principle resolvable through empirical inquiry, about the beliefs, values, and life styles of southern planters, and about the effects of slavery on the identity and personality structure of blacks.

Diggins believes "Marxist" historians of the North have inverted Genovese's claims about the South. They have used models of social control to prove that ostensibly free wage workers were, in effect, near slaves. At the same time, "they" (except for Eric Foner and Herbert Gutman, he identifies few of these historians) think they have discovered a "nonliberal" system of beliefs and values among wage workers, a separate culture whose communal and nonacquisitive values have stood in opposition to liberal capitalism. Diggins again cries foul. In a small skirmish, he argues that these interpretations are neither radical, whatever that means, nor authentically Marxist. Throughout, he cavalierly wades into the still-complicated and very controversial issue of what a Marxist view of history really entails, and with full confidence affirms his own conclusions as against those he criticizes. Far be it from me to arbitrate this one. Much more critical, Diggins denies the thesis of his protagonists, a thesis that he once again reduces to a rather simple stereotype. He argues, in themes reminiscent of Thorstein Veblen, that American workers emulated almost all the beliefs and values of their employers. In a sense, employers exerted a hegemonic role in society. The effect was twofold. First, workers were clearly motivated by the same acquisitive values as owners, and not by a selfless devotion to fraternity and community, even though they continuously mouthed such communal ideals. Second, they were not at all slaves. They may have espoused what Diggins sees as tarnished goals. But, in terms of their internalized

value system, they were free, had ambition, enjoyed economic rewards, and at times even found fulfillment in work. In other words, they shared in many of the benefits of a liberal society, or exactly what was denied southern blacks. Once again, a factual issue seems at stake. I would not dare try to read the minds of all American workers. I suspect—given the enormous variety of jobs, the diversity of working conditions, and religious and ethnic differences—that both views of working people are true, here and there, now and then. I fear that Diggins, throughout, poses false dichotomies. In some sense, almost everyone has acquisitive goals, even those who live in a tight, exclusive, communal society.

I am much more confident when I arbitrate formal issues. I find the weakest link in Diggins's essay to be his absurd claim that historians should almost never believe what people say about motivating goals or purposes. He seems to take an extreme position—people always use ideas as window dressing to camouflage their real interests. They lie. This position strikes me as naive and as foolish as that of someone gullible enough to accept at face value all the justifications people offer for their actions. A symbolic language is distinctive to humankind. Thinking is talking to oneself, a use of words that Diggins seems to view as a type of cover for what is at the core of American behavior—getting as many goods and as much power as possible. This view of humanity is impossibly narrow. Talking and thinking are modes of behavior, interactive with other modes, and thus mutually conditioned and conditioning. Historians generally leave reflexive behavior to psychologists. In the case of habitual behavior, they try to move back to the linguistic behavior that helped shape it, whether that be in the recent or very distant past. What people thought is critical to the work of any historian in any field. Indeed, workers in the past may have indulged merely verbal habits, in certain contexts have put on their Sunday school language, and thereby deceived not only Marxist historians but also themselves. Only a comparison of verbal celebrations with subsequent actions would allow historians to identify such claims. But more often than not I find a remarkable congruence between verbal justifications and the deepest aspirations of people. At least many stated beliefs are the very beliefs that guide action. Diggins's radical disjuncture of words and acts is thus sophistic. It also ignores the obvious fact that, for most people, moral complacency is itself a compelling interest, vital to one's sense of well-being.

In the second half of his essay, Diggins tries to bury his second mythology—republicanism. Part of this section involves technical issues that I simply cannot unravel in such a brief space. Thus, I risk the pitfall that so often trapped Diggins—a tendency to oversimplify the views of those whose views he rejects. Too briefly, Diggins finds in the work of certain historians—a heavily caricatured John Pocock most often represents the whole group—a claim that his liberalism has not been at the core of an American mind. At least at the time of the founding, and among our intellectual elite, certain classical republican values were more controlling. If Diggins had paused at this point to stipulate the specific meanings he intends by the words “liberal” and “republican,” I would have been spared much frustration. The word “republican” floats around in our present historical discourse as often, and as confusingly, as the word “liberal.” No semantic conventions govern the use

of either term, not even among specialized historians. Thus, historians too often fight needless battles based on confused meanings. From what Diggins has written, I infer, not confidently, that his "republicanism" entails a belief that a stable society and a good government rest on certain commitments or developed habits in a people. These, tentatively identified by the elusive word "virtue," include a high regard for, and a disinterested commitment to, the polis, the commonwealth, or the public interest and, thus, a willingness to subordinate purely private interests. Since his "liberals" have a primary commitment to private acquisition, then such a republican value system, if it ever prevailed in America, would undo Diggins's liberal thesis.

How many Americans have accepted republicanism as Diggins narrowly defines it? Very few, he believes. At least the most influential founding fathers either rejected it or accepted it only with severe qualifications. And even those who affirmed republicanism never acted consistently with it. More meaningless words. I agree with Diggins's first point—few have accepted republicanism as he has defined it. But I am not sure this argument accomplishes much. As any one familiar with the density of Pocock's writings realizes, such a denial hardly engages him in fair battle, let alone refutes him. The issues are too complex to be resolved in such a small skirmish. But what troubles me much more is a conviction that Diggins, once again, has set up such sharp polarities as to make trivial his conclusions. Perhaps no one really fits his ideal types, whether liberal or republican. In a logical sense, his essay is full of null classes and vacuous comparisons. No one can ever, or should ever, reflect disinterested virtue. If being a republican requires this, then no one will prove to be a republican even if, perchance, someone is confused enough to offer such as an ideal (I think of John Taylor). And if being a liberal means that one has rejected such disinterested benevolence, or does not attain it in practice and instead seeks some form of accumulation, then it is too easy to prove that everyone is a liberal. But such a way of affirming the obvious settles no historical debates.

I end with what pervades Diggins's essay—his deeply pessimistic assessment of what can only be called the American character. He concludes with what Tocqueville saw as the "principle of action" that explained America—interest. Of course, one can plead, this is only a truism. It is, almost by definition, an explanation for any human choice or action. We choose what we do because of some purpose or goal, some interest we have in mind. But, clearly, Diggins sees possessiveness—Veblen's conspicuous consumption, a desire for wealth—as the dominant American interest, however much Americans have dressed this goal up in words, in the babble of morality and virtue. America has not enjoyed the leaven of even small classes of people who have been able to resist the ethic of accumulation—no leisurely gentlemen on southern porches, no self-conscious and fraternal working class, no virtuous republicans. The only outsiders have been those excluded from the great barbecue, those who could not even compete for the glittering but ultimately hollow rewards that motivate most of us. This involves a descriptive thesis about almost all Americans. It may be true. It would be almost as difficult to disprove as to prove. Diggins, with all his confusions, does little to

launch the search for confirmation. I end with my own impression. I think he is wrong. Not primarily because his view is so pessimistic. I am given to occasional jeremiads myself. But because his view is so simplistic and one-dimensional. Diggins so quickly lumps all Americans together, so glibly characterizes a vast, complex mass of people—people I know to be both acquisitive and generous, both individualistic and fraternal, both cruel and kind, and thus always more, or less, than any of his labels.

PAUL CONKIN
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Reply:

PERHAPS THE MOST SATISFYING THING about Paul Conkin's reply is that it enables me to collect on a bet. When informed that Conkin would comment on my essay, I wagered with a friend that Conkin would criticize it for semantic confusion, terminological imprecision, theoretical incoherence, and the like. The strategy goes something like this: first write of "confusions" about categorical matters, then complain of vagueness, next bring up "definitional issues," and then raise points that have little to do with the argument at hand.

Conkin circumvents the problem of liberalism by asking irrelevant questions. "All that I can discover . . . is a love of property. Which type of property?" Not the varying forms of property but possessiveness itself worried Tocqueville and the framers. I defined liberalism as the pursuit of private ends in contrast to the public good, as suggested by Madison's conviction that "there is no right principle of action but self-interest" and by Tocqueville's conviction that self-interest "is the only immutable point in the human heart." Doubtless liberalism has many other meanings, but they may not be directly germane to the problem of "interest" and "virtue," the controlling idea of the essay. "Therein lies the liberal synthesis," I wrote in the very last line, after discussing the Lockean-Calvinist doctrine of ambition and work revealed in Lincoln's meditations. Lincoln recognized that in liberal America labor and commerce were more important than politics and citizenship, but he feared that wealth would come to command more authority than work because of man's sinful nature. That fear, shared by John Adams and many other American thinkers, apparently is not shared by Conkin. "To point to a widespread love of some unspecified possessions," he writes, "is no more revealing than to suggest that everyone needs, and usually wants, to eat." Perhaps, but this is not how the framers and many nineteenth-century thinkers viewed the problem that Tocqueville called egoism and individualism. "Power is what they want, not candy," wrote Emerson.¹ The framers, Emerson, and Tocqueville alike believed that the problem facing America was not liberal man's rational need to eat but the "passions" and "desires" that could not easily be constrained by calls to civic duty, rational prudence, Christian love, or even the lofty "Oversoul."

Conkin seems untroubled by problems that troubled every major American thinker who recognized the conflict between the pursuit of interests and the demands of virtue. That conflict was faced, though not resolved, by the *Federalist* authors, by John and Henry Adams, Tocqueville, Emerson, and Thoreau, by

¹ Emerson, "Wealth," 93.

Orestes Brownson, Rufus Choate, Richard Hildreth, Catharine and Henry Ward Beecher, Hawthorne, and Melville, and, above all, Lincoln. As I tried to point out, however, in *The Lost Soul of American Politics* (1984), at least four American thinkers denied the conflict between virtue and interests: Ben Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, John Dewey, and George Gilder (author of *Wealth and Poverty* [1981] and speech writer for President Reagan). When Conkin discusses "interest" and tells us that "it is, almost by definition, an explanation for any human choice or action" and hence "we choose what we do because of some purpose or goal, some interest we have in mind," his reasoning is perfectly Deweyan and Gilderean. I prefer Lincoln.

Conkin finds my analysis of the Marxists and republicanists "tendentious, unfair, and ultimately more confusing than edifying," but, curiously, he never once specifies where the unfairness and confusions lie. He tells us that my treatment of Eugene Genovese's views is little more than "a reductionist caricature," another instance when the views under discussion are categorically rejected rather than examined and questioned. When Genovese exclaimed that "the slaves proved themselves good Hegelians," his thesis reduced itself to caricature. Conkin repeats the word "confusions," as though its very reiteration is itself a refutation. But he evades the heart of the matter. "So interpreted," he states in reference to my analysis of Genovese, "Diggins has begged a series of factual questions, in principle resolvable through empirical inquiry, about the beliefs, values, and life styles of southern planters, and about the effects of slavery on the identity and personality structure of blacks." In the essay I did not beg a series of factual questions but indicated, by citing James Oakes's *The Ruling Class* in the footnotes, that "Genovese's thesis has been challenged in its details," and then emphasized, "it is the doctrine that inspired the thesis that needs to be questioned." My concern is with the theoretical presuppositions of Marxist historiography, and in the case of Genovese's scholarship I sought to show the shortcomings of using Hegel's dialectical reasoning and Gramsci's concept of hegemony. I wish Conkin had addressed these two key and obvious issues.

But Conkin answers an argument by dismissing it, as though the rhetoric of confusion and distortion is a substitute for reason and evidence. Concerning my description of the new labor history, particularly the Marxist argument that class consciousness was deflected by social control, Conkin claims it "reduces to a rather simple stereotype" ideas and themes "reminiscent of Thorstein Veblen." What is so simple and stereotypical in coming to understand—thanks to Veblen, Sombart, Tocqueville, and Weber—that in liberal America the working class could not escape its bourgeois fate? Such understanding did not seem too "simple" or reductive even to European Marxists like Engels and Gramsci. "It is . . . quite natural," Engels wrote to Marx about America, "that in such a young country, which has never known feudalism and has grown up on a bourgeois basis from the first, bourgeois prejudices should also be strongly rooted in the working class."² Gramsci declared that in America "the fundamental problem of hegemony has yet to be posed," and he, too, saw, as did Tocqueville, Veblen, and Louis Hartz, the

² Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Selected Correspondence, 1846–1895* (New York, 1942), 467.

enormous significance in the absence of a feudal stage of history in America's past. "The non-existence of viscous parasitic sedimentations left behind by past phases of history has allowed industry, and commerce in particular, to develop on a sound basis." Genovese believed he could use the concept of hegemony to explain aristocratic paternalism; Gramsci used it to explain America's bourgeois consensus; and J. G. A. Pocock would have us believe that the tension between classical republicanism and modern liberalism, the "dialectic of virtue and commerce," has continued throughout American history. Gramsci made it clear, as did Tocqueville, Weber, Sombart, Veblen, and Hartz, that liberalism emerged as the dominant ideology. "Americanisation requires a particular environment, a particular social structure (or at least a determined intention to create it) and a certain type of State. The State is the liberal State, not in the sense of free-trade liberalism or of effective political liberty, but in the more fundamental sense of free initiative and of economic individualism which, with its own means, on the level of 'civil society,' through historical development, itself arrives at a regime of industrial concentration and monopoly."³

Am I alone in thinking that Conkin's reply suffers from evasion? One of my differences with Marxist labor historians involves the long-unresolved problem of class, and I specifically tried to show that E. P. Thompson has by no means resolved that problem simply by calling a class a "process" and by describing a given workers' movement as a "moral community," as though a new vocabulary will transform an old reality. In Marxist terms the working class becomes fully developed only when it achieves consciousness of its role in opposing what Engels called "bourgeois prejudices." Without even mentioning the problem of class, Conkin claims that I pose "false dichotomies" in distinguishing bourgeois sentiments like acquisitiveness and consumption from the communal and cooperative values the working class is supposed to hold—the very distinction Engels made when he claimed that workers, in Europe if not in America, have "other thoughts and ideals" distinct from those of the middle class. And what is Conkin's reply? "Throughout, he cavalierly wades into the still-complicated and very controversial issue of what a Marxist view of history really entails, and with full confidence affirms his own conclusions as against those he criticizes. Far be it from me to arbitrate this one." After shifting the subject from the issue of class to "a Marxist view of history," which is supposedly too controversial to tackle, Conkin then shifts the basis of the evidence by implying that my "conclusions" rest on nothing more than my "full confidence." In the essay I did not offer my "conclusions" but those of Tocqueville and others, and in the present rejoinder I offer the conclusions of Engels and Gramsci regarding the liberal nature of America. Instead of showing where I and the thinkers I cite might be wrong, Conkin simply dismisses problems of Marxism as too "complicated" and my approach as "cavalierly" executed, and he chooses not to "arbitrate" my differences with the Marxists.

Conkin similarly evades my disputes with Pocock's interpretation of American history, spelled out in the last two chapters of his influential *The Machiavellian*

³ Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, 285–86, 293.

Moment. The points I raise—that republicanism and the ideals of civic duty did not characterize the thinking of the *Federalist* authors and especially John Adams, that these ideas found little nourishment in the American environment, that historians like Turner saw land and labor, not politics and virtue, as the hope of the republic, and that Lincoln embodied a Lockean-Calvinist ethos in many ways distinct from the Machiavellian tradition—are not explored in Conkin's remarks.

Even more evasive is Conkin's dismissal of the problem of political language and historical reality. "Diggins's radical disjuncture of words and acts is thus sophistic." The whole issue of whether thought and language are motivational as well as representational has concerned philosophers for centuries. Was Locke being sophistic when he found, in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, the "actions" of men the "best interpreters" of their thoughts in order to establish "what determines the will in relation to our actions"? Was John Adams, when he tried to show, in his *Defense of the Constitutions*, that in political language words lose their "signification", because a rhetoric designed to persuade does not necessarily describe the true motives of conduct? Was Marx, when he tried to tell us, in the "Theses on Feuerbach," that what people say must be judged against what they do in "practice"? Was Edmund Burke, when he observed, in *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, that "conduct" is "the only language that rarely lies"?⁴ Conkin is convinced that he can find "a remarkable congruence between verbal justifications and the deepest aspirations of people." Yet the thinkers who influenced the framers, Locke and Hume as well as Montesquieu, did not see that "remarkable congruence" but felt compelled to ask: Are reasons causes? If the answer is yes, then truth is no longer a property of historical events but of the words and reasons used to describe them. The entire effort of Adams, Hume, and others was to demonstrate that the language of classical politics could not be relied on to preserve a modern republic because it did not offer a true account of historical events and human actions.

Let me provide a more immediate example. If a political leader claims to be acting virtuously, or claims "I am not a crook," or that supply-side economics will usher in "a city upon a hill" (Winthrop, where art thou now?), and if there is no "radical disjuncture between words and acts," as Conkin insists, no way to judge factual states of affairs independently of what is being said, then there is no way to verify or falsify such claims, and hence truth becomes synonymous with rhetoric. Conkin maintains that my skepticism about political language as revelatory of motive and intent "ignores the obvious fact that, for most people, moral complacency is itself a compelling interest, vital to one's sense of well-being." Adams, the *Federalist* authors, and Tocqueville hardly ignored that "obvious fact," but what Conkin offers as a solution they saw as the problem. They knew full well that for reasons of "self-love" man would use high-minded political language to promote good opinions of himself. But the deeper issue, as they saw it, is whether

⁴ John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Maurice Cranston (Collier Books edn., New York, 1965), 155–57; John Adams, *Defense of the Constitutions*, 1: v; Karl Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach," in Easton and Guddat, *Writings of the Young Marx*, 400–02; and Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (Penguin edn., New York, 1982), 200.

people will obey the ideas that are presupposed in the language they use to describe themselves, particularly when they see themselves as acting virtuously because they call themselves republican citizens. "Obedience is what makes government," observed Burke, "not the names by which it is called."⁵ Thus, although America called itself a republic, Tocqueville was able to show that the historical principles of republicanism did not explain America because they did not have the authority to obligate conduct. Indeed, on the issue of language and behavior, Adams, the *Federalist* authors, Tocqueville, Burke, and even Marx were in full agreement that, contrary to Conkin's position, words and acts must be kept distinct. Although they recognized that thinking requires a linguistic medium, they were not prepared to allow historical reality to become identical to the language of politics. Nor was George Orwell.

What is true of language may also be true of public events in general. Some social historians seem to assume that if they study civic rituals and festivities they can demonstrate why "possessive individualism" is nothing more than an invention of the consensus scholars of the fifties. But Santayana once explained why public events designed to celebrate patriotic heroism and virtue are not necessarily occasions on which truth is spoken. It is almost a law of aesthetics, Santayana observed, that in such political speech what is said is associated with how it is said, and hence the listener accepts the expressions of language as the datum of thought because public discourse is meant to "produce artificially" emotions that embellish the good by denying the bad. "A pervasive presentation of pleasure must give warmth and ideality to the whole. In the proprieties of social life we find the same principle; we study to make our surroundings, manners, and conversation suggest nothing but what is pleasing. We hide the ugly and disagreeable portion of our lives, and do not allow the least hint of it to come to light upon festive and public occasions."⁶ As long as the historian focuses on the language of republicanism and deals with the pleasure principle of patriotic holidays, he can accept the ritual as the real. But should we accept rituals as evidence about the factual character of history, or do they derive their persuasive power by their ability to "hide the ugly and disagreeable"? Perhaps the problem of reality and its representations does not trouble the historian who believes in the rightfulness of "moral complacency."

Conkin deplores what he regards as my "deeply pessimistic assessment of what can only be called the American character," an assessment that he categorizes as "simplistic and one-dimensional," and then he ends on a note of uplift by telling us that the "people I know to be both acquisitive and generous, both individualistic and fraternal, both cruel and kind" defy my "labels." This message would have hardly impressed the framers, and it would have reminded Melville of missionaries. It was not pessimism but "Christian realism" (to borrow Reinhold Niebuhr's expression) that characterized the thought of Melville and Lincoln as well as the framers. T. S. Eliot, another writer who, unlike Conkin, saw the "shadow" fall

⁵ Edmund Burke, "Speech on Conciliation with the Colonies," in Bate, *Selected Writings of Edmund Burke*, 130.

⁶ George Santayana, *The Sense of Beauty: Being the Outline of Aesthetic Theory* (Dover edn., New York, 1955), 127.

between the word and the act, once complimented Machiavelli for telling the truth about humanity; the same can be said for Henry Adams on American politics, Thorstein Veblen on modern economics, and Mark Twain on the American character. Some of America's most sensitive minds would have agreed with Gramsci that one must combine optimism of will with pessimism of intellect. My essay concerned itself with, among other subjects, the Marxist historian who approaches slavery the way Josiah Royce used to explain human suffering: it will all be resolved in a higher synthesis. After such knowledge, pessimism becomes obligatory.

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Reviews of Books

GENERAL

DAVID BRION DAVIS. *Slavery and Human Progress*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1984. Pp. xix, 374. \$25.00.

David Brion Davis is already well known to students of slavery and history in general as the author of two distinguished studies dealing with Western concepts of slavery from antiquity through the era of the American and French revolutions. The present book, he tells us, represents both a revisionary review of his previous work and a "pilot study" for a forthcoming final volume on slavery and emancipation in the nineteenth century (p. xix).

Neither the title nor the author's stated intentions provide a fully coherent focus to the work. Davis is essentially a historian of ideas who admits that he is "not at all sure what 'progress' really means" (p. xvi) and thus organizes his argument "around the theme of changing conceptions of progress" (p. xix). But much of the book deals with substantive correlations of slavery to, for example, the expansion of empires, economic development, political reform, and moral crusades. Yet somehow Davis finds enough common ground in the subject of slavery so that his book never becomes tedious and is often most fascinating when it explores topics that, as he also states, had to be suppressed in the more tightly organized volumes that preceded and will also have to be suppressed in those that will follow.

The digressions are greatest in the first third of the book, which is dedicated to questions of slavery touched on in the earlier volumes and ranging over the Roman and Islamic empires, the protoindustrial European economy, and the experience and ideology of Jews from biblical times to the nineteenth century. In none of these areas does Davis claim original scholarship, nor is he willing to come to clear conclusions on the more controversial issues. But his reading of secondary works is impressive and is consistently used to shed light on the contradictory relationships between slavery and the various kinds of "progress" that are evoked.

The last two-thirds of this book examines nineteenth-century slavery and emancipation, focusing mainly on Britain and the United States but also dealing with Cuba, Brazil, and colonial Africa. The major themes are the contemporary debates over the relationship of slavery to economic rationalism and to the broader direction of historical change.

On the first topic Davis is able to show how the rich but confused views of both defenders and opponents of slavery anticipated the arguments of modern economic historians, particularly on such issues as the relationship between forms of commercial agriculture and the ratio of population to arable land. At the more general level, Davis notes the fluctuation within the abolitionist camp between believers in *chronos* (change brought about through extant historical processes) and *kairos* (a radically disruptive "new dispensation" as both the agency and outcome of slave emancipation). Without ever losing sight of the central topic of slavery, Davis thus provides insights into some of the central issues of nineteenth-century European cultural development, with its struggles over the secular dialectics of early capitalist development and the relevance of traditional religious modes for comprehending such changes.

Compared to the other recent cultural studies of slavery, such as Orlando Patterson's *Slavery and Social Death* (1982), Davis appears indecisive in both his conclusions and his choice of analytic models. In his last volume he seemed to tend toward a Gramscian-Marxist argument, but now he relies more on Hegel and the theologian Paul Tillich. But, whatever his shortcomings with regard to formal method, Davis gives an exemplary demonstration of how the practice of intellectual and cultural history can link a specific theme to its larger contexts in the worlds of both ideas and the practical activity of political, economic, and social life.

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ARTHUR SCHWEITZER. *The Age of Charisma*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall. 1984. Pp. xii, 417. \$30.95.

ANN RUTH WILLNER. *The Spellbinders: Charismatic Political Leadership*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1984. Pp. xi, 212. \$17.95.

Was Max Weber ill-advised after all in introducing the religious concept of charisma into the secular world of politics? And even then he left us only the rudiments of a theory. In their well-constructed studies, Arthur Schweitzer and Ann Ruth Willner are still not definite and agreed as to how we should differentiate between exceptional leaders and extraordinary (or charismatic) ones. Are the latter of the same genus as the former, or are the two as different as stars from comets? If leaders are categorized as extraordinary, we still need to obtain many more objective indicators than Schweitzer and Willner have provided.

By definition, however, it does not seem possible to find a complete list of indicators. For charisma is, as Schweitzer and Willner state, a quality that is perceived by the charismatic following; such perceptions are therefore subjective. Sometimes subjective criteria no doubt lend themselves to critical and scientific assessment, but these two authors concerned are not in agreement. Willner, for example, suggests that certain peoples like the British "may not be susceptible to charismatic affect" (p. 41). She therefore does not look on Churchill as charismatic. Schweitzer, on the contrary, states that "Churchill possessed the gift of natural charisma" (p. 290).

Schweitzer makes an exhaustive attempt to reassess and extend Weber's theory in the context of the emergence of "more than a dozen charismatic giants" (as stated on the title page of the dust cover) in the last eighty years: Gandhi, Nehru, Indira Gandhi, Theodore Roosevelt, Franklin Roosevelt, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Churchill, de Gaulle, Lenin, Mao, Mussolini, and Hitler. Willner considers charismatic Castro, Gandhi, Hitler, Mussolini, Roosevelt, Sukarno, and Khomeini (p. 33), but she is not certain that Nehru, Mao, Lenin, J. F. Kennedy, de Gaulle, Nasser, Churchill, Eugene McCarthy, and George McGovern are charismatic but describes them as "marginals and misnomers" (pp. 38-41).

Since Weber left many things unsaid, both studies attempt to expand and reinterpret the sociologist's seminal ideas. Schweitzer writes of "synergistic charisma," that is, "when the charismatic and non-charismatic features interact in such a way as to either maintain or strengthen the charismatic component in the interaction" (p. 28). Chapters 3 to 6 (in part 2, "Dictatorial Charisma") and 7 to 10 (in part 3, "Democratic Charisma") provide the theoretical framework and data for study of charisma in these two areas. Willner endeavors to identify the characteristic indicators of charisma. These, she says, are "the assimilation of a leader to one or more of the dominant myths of his society and culture," "the

performance of what appears to be an extraordinary or heroic feat," "the projection of the possession of qualities with an uncanny or a powerful aura," and "outstanding rhetorical ability" (p. 61). She acknowledges that "the prime precipitant of political charisma must be the element of the leader himself or his leadership" (p. 60).

Unaware of Schweitzer's theory of synergistic charisma, Willner states the same principle in a different way. "Some attributes or actions of the leader, some combination of attributes and actions, and/or some mode of presenting these to the public serves to catalyze charismatic perceptions" (p. 60). But, despite the lengths to which the two authors have gone to spell out the specifics that contribute to create the politically divine genius, we are left wishing for more evidence. Willner might have clarified the concept had she developed her approach in an earlier work, *Charismatic Political Leadership: A Theory* (1968). Here she attributed to the charismatic leader "devotion" as distinct from "affection," "awe" from "admiration," "reverence" from "respect," and "blind faith" from "trust." Her view was that the difference was not one of "degree" but of "kind" (p. 6).

More serious problems arise. What if, as Robert Talmon observed in his "Pursuit of the Millennium: The Relation between Religious and Social Change" (in *Archiv europäischer Sozialgeschichte* [1962]), a millenarian movement becomes "an endemic force" and it "reaches a flashpoint" where it may "seize upon *any* [emphasis added] available form?" In Weimar Germany that available form was Hitler. Can political science help us avoid the catastrophes? This raises the question of whether charisma cannot be channeled along constructive lines. Edward Shils, Ann Ruth Willner, and Dorothy Willner tend to anticipate such a possibility.

But what if a charismatic leader is cut off in his or her prime by death or assassination before Weber's routinization of authority (which follows the stabilization that charismatic leadership brings) is effected? Who will fill the vacuum? Will he or she be as able a charismatic leader, or will he or she be someone hopelessly inept?

And, worse still, will a charismatic leader (if there is such a person) place obstacles in the path of the routinization of authority to perpetuating his or her rule or establishing a new dynastic succession? In this event, will charismatic leadership seek to survive in deliberately promoted chaos and crises? Were the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution plans by Mao and his inner circle to have Chinese society in permanent crisis so that Mao could withstand the administrative, managerial, and military routineers?

And, finally, how do we distinguish between the genuine and the pseudocharismatic leader? These

questions need to be addressed if we are to accept political charisma as a valid category of political analysis.

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EDUARD MÄRZ. *Joseph Alois Schumpeter: Forscher, Lehrer und Politiker*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1983. Pp. 187.

The year 1983 brought two widely celebrated milestones in the history of economics: the 100th anniversaries of Karl Marx's death and of J. M. Keynes's birth. Less widely noted was the anniversary of yet another great economist, Joseph Alois Schumpeter, who would have been 100 years old in 1983. The relative neglect of Schumpeter's birthday is symptomatic of his standing within the profession; his ideas have been far less influential in the evolution of economic theory than those of either Marx or Keynes. His concern with systems rather than analytical technique put him out of step with neoclassical thought in the industrialized world, and his generally favorable view of capitalism set him apart from neo-Marxist doctrine in the less developed world. Yet his works continue to be widely read and admired by economists. These articles by Eduard März—a leading Austrian economic historian, an expert in Marxian economics, and a former student of Schumpeter at Harvard—demonstrate why Schumpeter still ranks as one of the towering figures in economics in the twentieth century.

The title indicates that the book deals with Schumpeter the scholar, the teacher, and the politician, but März offers this and much more. He has compiled a collection of articles that trace the interrelationships between Schumpeter's theories and the economic, social, and political setting that formed the backdrop for his ideas. The portrait of Schumpeter the person that emerges in chapters 1, 5, 7, and 8 is not a flattering one. Students appreciated his enthusiasm for economics and marveled at his mastery of detail but were put off by his "sloppy and unsystematic" lectures. He was widely considered to be very difficult to get along with. As Austrian minister of finance in 1919, he managed to isolate himself from both conservative and socialist supporters after only six months in office and was forced to resign. He was appointed professor at the University of Graz only after the intervention of Böhm-Bawerk and was unsuccessful as president of a small Viennese bank. An accumulating mountain of debts in the 1920s was a factor in his being denied a chair at Humboldt University, a disappointment that encouraged him to migrate to America. At Harvard he competed tenaciously with the Keynes-

ian Alvin Hansen and infuriated his conservative colleagues with his firm defense of Marx.

Schumpeter's personal shortcomings stand in stark contrast to his brilliance as a theorist of capitalist economic development. März's purpose in chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5 is not to survey or interpret the Schumpeterian system but to trace its origins. For example, the concept of the innovating entrepreneur, so central to Schumpeter's theory of economic development, recalls earlier work of Max Wirth, Werner Sombart, and Friedrich Wieser as well as the theories of elite rule advocated by Vilfredo Pareto, Émile Durkheim, and Friedrich Nietzsche. Although Schumpeter tended not to acknowledge the link, his theories have a strong Marxist ring, perhaps as a result of his steady contact and debates with Austro-Marxists such as Otto Bauer and Rudolph Hilferding in pre-World War I Vienna. As did Marx, Schumpeter focused on the dynamic, disequilibrating character of economic development and criticized the comparative static, equilibrium approach of neoclassical economics as it came to be embodied in the work of Alfred Marshall and Keynes. Unlike Marxists, however, he did not view capitalism as a system driven by class conflict with an inherent tendency toward imperialist expansion.

März argues that economic conditions within pre-World War I Austria were just as important as ideological influences in shaping Schumpeter's views. He identifies the relative backwardness of Austria compared to Western Europe, the weakness of the entrepreneurial class, and the key role of the Viennese great banks as crucial themes in the economic history of late nineteenth-century Austria. These features of his environment, März believes, triggered Schumpeter's interest in the issue of development and encouraged him to emphasize the innovating entrepreneur and credit-creating banks as the engines of economic development. Was Schumpeter drawing on the experience of the late nineteenth-century Austrian economy in formulating his theory, or has März simply used Schumpeterian concepts to interpret Austrian economic development? März quite persuasively supports the former view, but the latter interpretation is just as plausible.

März designed his collection as a tribute to Schumpeter, but in a sense the volume honors the author as well by displaying the diverse scholarly interests and contributions of this prolific Austrian economic historian. It is unfortunate that the volume will be restricted to a German-reading audience, thus reinforcing the tendency of modern economists to neglect Schumpeter's work. A translation into English would be most welcome.

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D. CAMERON WATT. *Succeeding John Bull: America in Britain's Place, 1900–1975*. (Wiles Lectures Given at the Queen's University of Belfast.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1984. Pp. xii, 302. \$34.50.

This book is replete with thoughtful, if sometimes questionable, observations on American and British foreign policy in the twentieth century. The intelligent insights into American institutions, sentiments, and policy decisions are owing not merely to D. Cameron Watt's examination of primary materials but, even more, to his incorporation of the work of countless scholars. This volume develops one of the century's dominant international themes: America's gradual replacement of Britain as the major power on the periphery of the Eurasian land mass. Watt divides his volume into five chronological chapters, each ending with a key event that dramatizes the evolving status of the United States. If America's rise to dominance was predictable from sheer size and potential power, the precise circumstances and the specific frictions and antagonisms were not.

The century opened with the rapprochement between Britain and America, promoted largely by Theodore Roosevelt's coterie, which favored an Anglo-Saxon hegemony. That rapprochement failed to survive the Great War. During the 1920s some London officials hoped that the United States would follow Britain in upholding Versailles and the European equilibrium. What they faced instead was American rejection of political commitment to European stability and of British preferences on a broad spectrum of specific issues. After 1934 British foreign-policy elites found FDR's administration incomprehensible and its foreign policies irrelevant. Washington, in turn, viewed the British empire not as a source of stability in Asia and Africa but as an immoral anachronism. American officials attributed Britain's failure to stand up to Hitler's defiance of the Versailles treaty as evidence not of Britain's economic decline but of British irresponsibility. American military officers developed a profound disrespect for Britain, believing the problem one of nerve rather than military weakness, even though this weakness was especially evident when contrasted to Germany's economic and military power.

During the war FDR harbored doubts about colonialist England as well as expansionist Russia. Amid the decline of the British economy, America's evolving postwar attitudes and policies toward Europe generally evoked London's approval and co-operation, but Britain disapproved of Eisenhower's policies in the Far and Near East. Kennedy improved Anglo-American relations, but any special British-American relationship, the author believes, died with Kennedy. New leaders, including Henry Kissinger, had no ties to Britain, which could no longer exert enough influence in Washington to

defend its interests. In two additional essays dealing with India, Indochina, and Indonesia, Watt criticizes U.S. postwar policies because they misjudged local leaders and conditions and were persistently anti-European. Unfortunately, the fact that American policy, with its emphasis on self-determination, was often misguided is no evidence that the European colonial powers had devised promising and stabilizing policies for Asia and Africa.

Like many critics of American institutions and scholarship in the field of international affairs, Watt at times seems to assume that no American writers agree with him. He charges, for example, that the emphasis on domestic influences in foreign affairs "is institutionalized throughout the American academic world" (p. 183). That blanket indictment is certainly false. Some historians who analyze foreign policy do focus "on its degree of success in attaining its ends or its degree of accuracy in perceiving the actual outlines of the problems with which it had to deal" (p. 185). Indeed, some American historians focus on nothing else. Not all American scholars would reject Watt's contention that foreign policies result less from public opinion than from the internal deliberations of cabinets, ministries, and bureaucracies. Still, Watt's criticism of American scholars comprises a small portion of the book. His assessment of American foreign policy in the twentieth century, as well as his acknowledgement of the dominance of the executive and populist ideology in American foreign relations, seem to this reviewer both accurate and judicious.

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ARON SHAI. *Britain and China, 1941–47: Imperial Momentum*. New York: St. Martin's. 1984. Pp. xi, 190. \$25.00.

A meticulous researcher and scholar, Aron Shai has continued a persistent theme from his earlier *Origins of the War in the East: Britain, China, and Japan, 1937–39* (1976), in which he wrote that "Britain could no longer play any role but that of a declining imperial power trying, pathetically at times, to regain lost prestige" (p. 248). The current study continues when Britain was militarily and economically hard pressed at home and defeated, in fact, in Burma, Malaya, Singapore, and China. Yet Britain still sought to act as a major power; after World War II some officials maintained the delusion that the China trade would help cure Britain's economic problems. Shai suggests the term "imperial hang-over" to describe this condition. Other recurring terms include "anachronistic," "myth of the China market," and "prestige." Among Shai's significant discoveries is that Labour officials in 1945 continued

largely the same China policies and pronouncements as their Conservative predecessors.

Without always grasping the related political implications, officials foresaw that Britain would have significant postwar economic problems. Generally, the Foreign Office wanted more wartime economic activity in China, largely for political reasons. The Board of Trade and the Treasury remained more skeptical and usually won the argument. Shai could have handled more sharply these debates between the Foreign Office, on the one hand, and the Board of Trade, the Treasury, and the Bank of England, on the other (and the disagreements among these three). He concludes his study in 1947 with the Hooper Memorandum by a Board of Trade official who argued that Britain's weakness in China made greater British trade there impossible.

Ignored in the book's title, America displaced Britain's influence in China because of its wartime capacity to aid China in both economic and military terms. Simultaneously, China saw Britain defeated throughout Asia. Significantly, President Franklin Roosevelt led in defining China as a major power, whereas Prime Minister Winston Churchill "could not accept the idea that Britain and China were mentioned in the same breath" (p. 23).

Shai chronicles many British-Chinese frictions: Chiang Kai-shek's efforts to intervene for Indian independence, aspirations for postwar influence among the Chinese in Malaya and Singapore, the bad impressions created by strong anti-British tones in Chiang's *China's Destiny*, Chinese officials criticizing Britain when speaking to American officials, trade and loan arguments, and Chinese claims on Hong Kong. The Kuomintang scored significant points for Chinese nationalism during the war, pressing for the retrocession of Hong Kong and passing protective laws regulating commerce in China. The Hong Kong controversy is one of the most interesting in the book, and, ironically, a discussion of the dispute is timely. Readers of America's China policy may be amazed by Britain's inattention to the Yenan communist government and detachment from the 1945-49 civil conflict.

The author focuses on the broad issues but pays inadequate attention to specific policymakers. We might question his specific choice of years, omitting 1939-41 between his two books and awkwardly stopping short of the 1949 proclamation of the People's Republic of China. Some editing problems detract from Shai's analysis. Maps are mostly too small. The book needed better proofreading; for example, "Koumintang" appears frequently. The index omits several names or citations, and it lists "Roosevelt, T." for FDR. Better editing would have smoothed several awkward passages. Shai relies not only on the British official records but also on those of the American government, the China Associa-

tion, and many individual private collections. The author is thoroughly grounded in the secondary material and scholarly arguments and sheds light on them.

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LILY GARDNER FELDMAN. *The Special Relationship between West Germany and Israel*. Boston: George Allen and Unwin. 1984. Pp. xix, 330.

Few developments in international politics since 1945 have been more remarkable than the relations between Israel and West Germany. It is thus surprising that no full-length explorations of this unusual and at times dramatic rapprochement have been attempted since Nicholas Balabkins's classic study of reparations and the surveys by Inge Deutsch-kron and Jekutiell Deligdisch over a decade ago.

Lily Gardner Feldman's lucid and well-researched study is thus most welcome. It will be the most practical starting point for anyone interested in the subject for some time to come. Feldman builds her analysis in three parts: the foundations of the 1952 Luxembourg Reparations Agreement inaugurating the partnership, the ever-widening relations through 1981, and the bases of an enduring relationship in the future. She argues persuasively that past German-Jewish interaction formed the psychological and moral foundation for the special relationship, while the pressing needs of Israeli economic survival and West German international rehabilitation forced the two sides to reach an early and far-reaching agreement. The same factors brought increasing cooperation over the following decades, marked by further German aid in return for Israeli acceptance of the new Germany.

The greatest merits of the book are its clarity and remarkable balance on a subject so fraught with emotions. Most impressive is the detailed correlation of Israeli economic problems and political pressures on Germany with the willingness of each party to make concessions (chap. 3). Yet historians will be disappointed by Feldman's uncritical and incomplete use of sources. The book depends heavily on over one hundred eighty interviews with Israeli and German leaders, government statements, and memoirs. There is little critical assessment of the reliability of the various participants' assertions. This is particularly striking for the negotiations preceding the Luxembourg accord, since significant German records have been available for some time at the Bundesarchiv and the Adenauer-Haus. The assertions by Adenauer and others could be readily checked in German archives.

Beyond the analysis of German-Israeli relations, Feldman regards her book as "a first step in the

formulation of a general theory of bilateral relations" (p. 7). She argues that the Israeli-German partnership represents but one case of "special relationships" like the classic British-American and U.S.-Canadian ones. The idea of "special relationships" as a concept between integration and interdependence has a certain theoretical attraction. But a conceptual category to cover both the British-American and German-Israeli cases scarcely helps illuminate either one. Although both cases are rooted in common historical experiences and involve preferential treatment and cooperation, the differences are vast. Too few Israelis came from Germany to claim strong linguistic and cultural links between the two states. The "special relationship" between Bonn and Jerusalem was forced on both by compelling needs of Israeli survival and German guilt or fear of the Holocaust memory, and it endures for the same reasons. Preferential treatment has not been mutual in the German-Israeli pact, but German reparations, economic aid, and support in the European community have been exchanged for Israeli willingness to refrain from associating the Federal Republic with Nazism, a weapon usable only against West Germany. These basic elements of the Israeli-West German partnership are wholly foreign to the British-American and other "special relationships."

DIETHELM PROWE
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ALBRECHT WEBER. *Geschichte der internationalen Wirtschaftsorganisationen*. (Wissenschaftliche Paperbacks Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, number 18.) Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner. 1983. Pp. 183. DM 24.

This is a history book in only a very loose sense. It is more of a guidebook to international economic organizations, arranged chronologically from the Hansa and Zollverein to UNIDO. A useful guide for students who want to know quickly when such organizations were founded, what they are for, and how they are run, it provides invaluable help in unravelling the bewildering range of acronyms in economic affairs. Each entry has a brief page or two of clear commentary. But the book is little more than a guide, for each organization is treated too summarily for this to be a real history, and the text is so fragmented (thirty-five chapters in 148 pages) that no room is left for any kind of serious analysis. This is a pity because, despite its usefulness, many students will want to know much more about the economic context in which the organizations arose, the political and diplomatic problems surrounding their development, their economic effectiveness, and the motives of the groups that set them up.

Albrecht Weber's brief conclusion offers pointers to the future, where he finds the key problem to be North-South relations, which will not come as much of a surprise to anyone. He ends on an optimistic note: international economic organizations will contribute much to world peace because of their historical weight, the experience of their bureaucracies, and their commitment to regulation. This may be all very well, but the evidence suggests that in the end it is still national economic interest that explains participation in these organizations. What has become clear since 1945 is that these national interests cannot be served effectively without enforceable rules and regulations in the world economy. Internationalist motives are largely cosmetic, as the bitter feuding in the EEC testifies. We all want to get richer. But we do not want others to do so at our expense. This was true for the Zollverein, and it is still true of most of the organizations described here.

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BERTHA S. DODGE. *Cotton: The Plant That Would Be King*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1984. Pp. ix, 175. \$14.95.

Cotton is the agricultural commodity most written about by American historians; wheat, though more important for sustaining life, is not as appealing to members of the profession. Perhaps this is because, as Bertha S. Dodge makes clear, cotton is tied to major changes in American history relating to politics, economic development, labor systems, civil war, and mechanization.

In her first two chapters Dodge discusses the world-wide and age-old importance of cotton to humanity. The next chapter compares methods of spinning thread and weaving fabrics by hand in many parts of the world. She then turns to the mechanization of spinning and weaving and England's rise to dominance in the production and marketing of cotton goods.

After Eli Whitney had invented the cotton gin, the sudden increase in demand for cotton fiber was met largely from fields in the southern United States worked by slave labor. The results changed American life. The export of cotton provided much of the exchange that paid for the industrial development of the United States and led to major economic conflicts between the North and the South. The rapid expansion of cotton production entrenched slavery in the South and led to major intersectional political conflicts and to the Civil War. After the war, cotton production was continued by sharecroppers displaced in the 1950s by machines, leading to problems that have not yet been resolved. The Civil

War, the boll weevil, and other problems encouraged increased cotton production in other parts of the world, yet in 1960 the United States, according to Dodge, was still producing one-third of the world's cotton.

In the nineteenth century, cotton mills in the northeastern United States rivaled those of England. At the end of the century, however, many owners had moved their operations to the South, where the climate made it possible to cut costs for buildings and heating and the availability of nonunionized labor led to even larger savings. The South still produces great quantities of cotton fabrics, but other nations, using lower-cost labor, have been cutting into American markets.

In the last chapter Dodge discusses other natural fibers that have been competitive with cotton over the centuries and points out that man-made fibers, particularly rayon and nylon, have spread throughout the world, forcing cotton into a secondary role.

This book is well written and interesting as well as historically accurate, but it is a history for the general reader rather than for the historian. The volume has no footnotes and only limited references in the text. The bibliography lists a wide range of books that are representative of the literature relating to cotton, but it is in no sense comprehensive. In summary, the book will be of interest to many people but is of limited use to historians.

WAYNE D. RASMUSSEN
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Nineteenth-Century Short Title Catalogue. Volume 1, A-C. (Series 1, 1801-15.) Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Averro; distributed by Chadwyck-Healey, Teaneck, N.J. 1984. Pp. xviii, 547.

The *Nineteenth-Century Short Title Catalogue* (NSTC) is intended to provide a dictionary catalogue of "all books published in Britain, its colonies and the United States of America; all books in English wherever published; and all translations from English" from 1801 through 1918 (p. iv). The first phase, recording the holdings of the British Library, the Bodleian Library, the Cambridge University Library, the National Library of Scotland, and the University Library, Newcastle, will be accomplished in three series covering 1801-15, 1816-70, and 1871-1918 and is projected to run to 150 volumes. A supplement adding the holdings of other British and American libraries is contemplated for the future. That the market for the NSTC is the large reference library, not the individual scholar, is evident: if the price of \$300 a volume is maintained, the total cost of the catalogue will be in the range of \$45,000. Libraries that own both the *British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books* and the *National Union*

Catalog of Pre-1956 Imprints may well want to consider whether the NSTC will add sufficient new bibliographical information to warrant such a substantial expenditure.

Robin Alston, in his review of the NSTC in *The Times Literary Supplement*, wrote, "The 'form of entry' . . . is eccentric, unfamiliar to most users of printed catalogues and, given the fact that all the data is in machine-readable form, could certainly be improved on." The entries retain only key words from the original title and a series of abbreviations for such information as format, place of publication, location, and editor. Readers who do not use the NSTC on a regular basis will have to return to the introduction for an explanation of the entry each time they consult the work.

The publisher's brochure claims that the NSTC contains the "first comprehensive subject index of nineteenth century books," but the index, based on the Dewey decimal system, has such broad categories as to be too general for practical use. Under such headings as "England—Local History" or "England—General History" one finds dozens of citations—to NSTC numbers, not to authors or titles. To someone wishing to compile a bibliography of English local histories written in the nineteenth century, this is useful; to someone looking for a history of Norfolk, it is not, for the 105 entries under "England—Local History" multiplied times the entire 150 volumes would produce 15,750 places to look for that history of Norfolk.

The short title catalogue form, well suited to the smaller number of publications from the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, is inappropriate for the much more prolific nineteenth century. For such massive amounts of data only the computer can provide adequate access. We must hope that someday the editors will make the NSTC data available online. Meanwhile, it is fortunate that the first series, with only five of the contemplated 150 volumes, is available at a small fraction of the total project cost for those libraries that wish to test its usefulness.

WILLIAM R. CAGLE
Indiana University

ANCIENT

FRANK KOLB. *Die Stadt im Altertum*. Munich: C. H. Beck. 1984. Pp. 306. DM 58.

This book is an elaboration of two lecture courses presented by Frank Kolb at the University of Kiel. Its stated purpose is to specify where, when, and under what conditions cities originated in the ancient world, to elicit the circumstances that influ-

enced their subsequent evolution, and to analyze their responses to changing societal pressures. The period covered runs from the birth of the city in Mesopotamia at the turn of the third millennium B.C. to the end of the late Roman period in the sixth century A.D. The volume is furnished with notes and references, a list of works cited, an adequate index, and forty maps and plans reproduced from previous publications.

A debatable feature of the book is its implicit conception of the ancient world as a functional urban region characterized by an integral sequence of developmental forms. Some scholars may prefer to consider Southwest Asia, and possibly Egypt, as extreme western representatives of an ancient complex of Asiatic urban traditions, with Greek and Roman urbanization signaling the emergence of a new and substantially different tradition. It must also be remarked that the exposition is based entirely on secondary works: of the 107 entries listed in the bibliography, none is a primary text. Citations of original sources are rare in the book and quotations entirely lacking.

On a more positive note, Kolb's concern to relate urban form and function to political, economic, and social changes in the ancient world raises the book from a description of architectural assemblages (which is the real theme of many so-called histories of the ancient city) to the plane of a true urban history. For my taste, the analysis takes too little account of the institutional creativity of cities in ancient times and does not adequately discuss differences in the ordering of urban hierarchies in the several cultural traditions of antiquity (despite the obligatory reference to Walter Christaller on page 14). And, although Kolb cites Joseph Rykwert's work in connection with the Italian peninsula, he virtually ignores the cosmomagical underpinnings of urban design even in those territories where it was most in evidence. Furthermore, I do not find the author's conceptualization of the exchange processes that were focused on the city to be particularly sophisticated. He tends to be preoccupied with the types and volumes of commodities and the routes over which they moved (especially pp. 40–51) to the exclusion of the institutions through which exchange was mediated; the term "trade" in this work does duty for a range of exchanges that, to my mind, are better characterized under other rubrics.

These deficiencies notwithstanding, for those who can manage the German this volume ranks with Mason Hammond's *The City in the Ancient World* (1972) as one of the two best single-volume surveys of urban evolution in the ancient world published to date.

PAUL WHEATLEY
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MIREILLE CÉBEILLAC-GERVASONI, editor. *Les "bourgeoisies" municipales italiennes aux II^e et I^{er} siècles av. J.-C.* (Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, number 609, Sciences Humaines; Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français de Naples, deuxième série, number 6.) Paris: The Center or Centre Jean Bérard, Naples. 1983. Pp. 467.

Michael Rostovtzeff would be pleased to observe the current upsurge of interest in Roman social and economic history. He would also be pleased to see that his concept of the ancient "bourgeoisie" is still alive. In his classic book, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (1926; 2d ed. 1957), he writes "An alliance between the Italian bourgeoisie and the Italian proletariat . . . resulted in the collapse of the hegemony of the two privileged orders of Rome, the senatorial and the equestrian" (p. xi). This is a false perspective: the transition from the Republic to the Principate or "the Roman revolution" was not a copy of the French one. The collection under review makes this clear, amply though indirectly (the name of Rostovtzeff is not mentioned even once). It contains thirty papers (mostly in French and Italian) delivered at a conference organized in 1981 by the French Institute at Naples. As the editor, Mireille Cébeillac-Gervasoni, puts it, the collection attempts to reverse the traditional vision of the Roman world: it does not view Italy from the heights of Rome but, rather, considers Rome from the vantage point of Italy (p. 8). And Italy is above all the local "bourgeoisies" (observe the quotation marks) or the *domi nobiles* as Roman senatorial aristocracy saw them. Cébeillac-Gervasoni dissects this group as it appears in inscriptions and literary texts; Umberto Laffi illuminates the composition and competence of the local senates; Ségolène Demougine shows that increasing numbers of municipal notables gained admission (often via the military tribunate) to the *ordo equester*; Filippo Coarelli, Mario Torelli, and Paul Zanker discuss the image the local aristocracies projected in their building activity and displayed in their statuary. Several papers are devoted to case studies of single cities or regions, such as the contributions dealing with Aquileia (by Gino Bandelli and Monika Verzář Bass), Larinum (Philippe Moreau's important social analysis of Cicero's *Pro Cluentio*), Puteoli (Jean Andreau's study of the financiers Cluvius and Vestorius), Capua (Jean-Marc Flambard's new interpretation of the inscriptions of the *magistri Campani*), and Pompei (by Paavo Castrén). Another theme is the cultural life of Italian cities: Jean-Michel David and Jean Christian Dumont provide useful lists of orators and actors of municipal origin, and T. P. Wiseman treats of the contacts between local notables and Roman intellectuals. The final theme is politics: François Hinard

discusses the Sullan proscriptions and how they affected the Italians; Emilio Gabba analyzes the ways and means by which the Roman government supported local ruling classes.

To conclude, the *domi nobiles* did not represent a static entity. This class was composed of various strata: old local aristocracies claiming a hereditary right to rule their native cities; an increasingly large group of those who gained wealth through commercial and financial ventures; and, finally, those who rose in the ranks of the Roman army. Proscriptions, land confiscations, and the settlement of veterans by Sulla, Caesar, and Augustus disrupted many communities and produced a new class of local notables; if one misses anything in this fine collection, it is a full-scale study of the role of the veterans in Italian cities.

Method is as important as substance: in most papers the reader is struck by the close blend of archaeological, epigraphical, and literary sources. The colloquium at Naples did much to clarify the changing political and economic fortunes and the composition of the ruling class in Italian cities in the last century of the Republic, but, as Claude Nicolet expressed it in his concluding remarks, "Cela ne veut pas dire que le mot 'bourgeoisie' soit devenu plus univoque" (p. 408). We need another colloquium.

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THEODORA HANTOS. *Das römische Bundesgenossenssystem in Italien*. (Vestigia, Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte, number 34.) Munich: C. H. Beck. 1983. Pp. xi, 196. DM 84.

Much of this book is written in a ponderous and ultimately misleading political science jargon. In this language we are told about five different statuses that Rome assigned to the Italians or to their territories after the conquest.

When Rome terminated a city's political existence and annexed its territory (as in the case of Veii), Theodora Hantos calls it *territorialintegrative direkte Herrschaft*. Sometimes Rome gave full Roman citizenship to the locals, while permitting a semiautonomous local government to survive (as in the case of Tusculum); this is called *integrative direkte Herrschaft*, of which there was a primary and a secondary form. On the occasions when Rome gave "citizenship without the vote" and permitted local governments to continue (as in the case of Caere), this is *teilintegrative direkte Herrschaft*. Latin colonies, so familiar to every student of Roman history, become *territorialintegrative indirekte Herrschaft*, a phrase that is all the worse because Latin colonies were only "territorially integrated" with Rome in a sense quite

different from that applying to, say, Veii. Finally, the ordinary Italian allies who inhabited the greater part of the peninsula are said to represent Rome's *teilintegrative indirekte Herrschaft*. This too is unhelpful, for in what sense was Rome's supremacy over the allies "partially integrating"? Hantos's vague and unwieldy terminology makes it difficult for her even to see the question.

The author has two particular aspirations in all this. One, obviously, is to describe *Herrschaftsformen* instead of the forms of public law. That should have involved her in a full investigation of the political and economic realities of Roman-Italian relations in the fourth through second centuries B.C., a topic that she seems strangely reluctant to face. Her other hope is to trace the fifth- and fourth-century origins of Rome's Italian arrangements. In spite of the inadequacies of the source material, this might have produced a very valuable study, but unfortunately she does not concentrate sufficiently on giving a unitary account of the crucial periods (probably in the 380s and in the last decade of the fourth century) in the development of Roman techniques. The result is an extremely abstract set of conclusions (pp. 183–86) that does very little to explain how or why mid-republican Rome exercised power so effectively in Italy.

It would be hard to criticize her handling of the written sources without detailed discussion (that there might be other kinds of information—in the material remains—does not occur to her). But readers should be cautious. It may be, for example, that most of the settlers in Latin colonies were in fact Roman citizens (p. 122), but none of the five texts that she cites for this purpose provides her with respectable support, and, in fact, we cannot know what proportion of the early "Latin" colonists was by origin Roman.

It can hardly be said that Hantos has succeeded in dealing properly with the previous scholarship on her subject. Her German predecessors she mostly belittles; her comments on the books of Josef Göhler and Hartmut Galsterer suggest insecurity rather than any reasoned critique. But at least she has read them, whereas works in English and Italian are frequently ignored or misunderstood. Emilio Gabba and others have gone well beyond what is offered in this volume.

One unsatisfactory book does not mean that scholarship is in peril, but it is depressing to see such a pretentious and unhelpful work published in a prestigious series by the German Archaeological Institute.

WILLIAM V. HARRIS
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ERICH S. GRUEN. *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*. In two volumes. Berkeley and Los Angeles:

University of California Press. 1984. Pp. x, 356; v, 359–862. \$60.00 the set.

This important study seeks to explain how and why the Hellenistic states of the eastern Mediterranean came under Roman sway. Erich S. Gruen brings to the vexed question an enviable mastery of the ancient and modern evidence, archaeological as well as literary, all of it meticulously documented, although not uncritically accepted (for instance, he finds Polybius often untrustworthy). In fact, Gruen provides many new approaches and suggestions, such as revised dates for the provinces of Macedonia (pp. 434, 525), Achaia (p. 524), and Asia (p. 608), reappraisals of Seleucus IV (p. 644), and much more. The author's aim is to replace the customary Rome-centered version of events with one based on the views, usages, and aspirations of the Greeks.

The first volume starts with the well-known fact that Rome, when it crossed the Adriatic, discarded the diplomatic methods that had consolidated its supremacy in peninsular Italy: in the Greek world Rome preferred *amicitia* to *societas*. This, Gruen insists, was not because Rome needed a different instrument for its imperialism in the East, a region that knew neither fetial law nor associated practices. Rather, imperialism was not Rome's purpose in the East: Rome was merely conforming to customs and following procedures long current in that part of the world. *Philia* (translated into Latin as *amicitia*) was an age-old Greek device, resembling our "diplomatic recognition," for regulating interstate relations (pp. 69–70, 717), but it could not promote Roman expansion. Nor did treaties serve imperialist designs. The few that Rome signed east of the Adriatic were either temporary affairs or typical Hellenistic documents containing a standard escape clause that enabled their signatories to avoid entanglement in one another's ambitions. In short, they "carried no concrete implications" (p. 45).

All of this is well and acutely argued, and Gruen's contention—that Rome, far from aiming at expansion, was positively trying to keep clear of involvement in trans-Adriatic affairs—is plausible. Then, in that case, why did Rome subjugate the Hellenistic states? Gruen tackles this question, left unanswered by Polybius, in the second volume. He rejects simplistic solutions. The Romans were not spurred on by an imperialist urge or by the defense needs of peninsular Italy and still less by their own sentimental philhellenism. The Romans had no plan of conquest or any other policy in the East, but the Greek states, which failed (or refused) to understand Rome's imperial aloofness from their quarrels, attempted to manipulate Rome for their own purposes. Ad hoc responses to developments there increasingly implicated Rome and led, finally, to its complete domination. Evolution of the unintended

sums up the history of Romano-Greek relations in the second century B.C.

Gruen expounds the complex theme with learning and ingenuity. To make it easy for readers to follow, he recapitulates after every chapter and lucidly summarizes his conclusions at the work's end. He is inevitably and deliberately repetitious, and at times he overstates his case, as when he depicts Rome, even after Apamea, as merely one of a concert of powers (pp. 181, 642)—the reality, as Laenas and Octavius knew, was quite different—and when he asserts that Rome "blundered" into the Second Macedonian War (pp. 397–98)—the evidence is overwhelming that Rome's ruling class was determined to resort to arms; the same seems true, incidentally, of the wars against Antiochus and Perseus. Nor was Rome so completely without a policy as Gruen's special pleading avers: as he shows (pp. 425, 470, 507, and elsewhere), Rome was not prepared to tolerate potential threats to the Adriatic. Occasionally, too, he lapses into inconsistency: after denying that Rome was aiming at "a balance of power," he admits on the very next page (p. 455) that it was seeking "equilibrium." Nevertheless, the present reviewer found his exposition stimulating, generally credible, and well worth pondering.

The volumes are beautifully printed and bound and have excellent appendixes and indexes. They constitute a valuable contribution to scholarship and deserve to be on every ancient historian's bookshelf.

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MEDIEVAL

J. M. WALLACE-HADRILL. *The Frankish Church*. (Oxford History of the Christian Church.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1983. Pp. x, 463. \$59.95.

In his preface J. M. Wallace-Hadrill says that "he who seeks a measured account of the Frankish Church in all its manifestations—in a word, a textbook account—must continue to look elsewhere." Then, to explain why he elected to write on some topics and not on others, the author quotes Amalarius of Metz, who once said of his own work, "*Scripti quod sensi*." There can be no doubt that Wallace-Hadrill has "felt" many things deeply and that he has "sensed" some things exquisitely. Throughout he has written elegantly (something one cannot say of Amalar), with a wit and vigor that are rare today. Still, readers of this book are going to be puzzled at the things Wallace-Hadrill felt and at the things he did not feel at all.

The book falls into two sections, one on the Merovingian church and one on the Carolingian.

The former section is based on lectures given in Cambridge in 1973–74 and is much more comprehensive and more textbookish than the longer but more discursive section on the Carolingian era. In nine chapters the author treats the reader to a lucid evocation of the Gallo-Roman background, the sources, popular religion, institutional and administrative problems, papal relations (this chapter is weak), social history, and economic challenges. The Carolingian section arises in a chapter devoted to the missions in Germany and proceeds through chapters on Pepin (that chapter is weak on monasticism), Charlemagne (weak on papal relations), Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald, and then final chapters on reform, learning, and “unsolved problems” (meaning the place of the Jews, marriage and social relations, and relations with non-Frankish peoples).

Two sets of issues recur constantly in the book and serve to illustrate the author’s unstated but palpable intentions. First, we are repeatedly given sketches of individuals that are always interesting and insightful and sometimes stunning. Nowhere in the literature will the reader find the soul and substance of Columbanus, Boniface, Theodulf, and Hrabanus Maurus captured better than here. And the portraits of Alcuin, Agobard, Hincmar, and many others are wonderful as well. Second, we find a series of discussions of the sources available for the study of the Frankish church. These sections of commentary are usually marked by Wallace-Hadrill’s fierce independence of thought and are sometimes standard *Quellenkritik*, sometimes lights to illuminate the reader’s path as he seeks to come to terms with the people who produced these sources in the first place.

Looking at these two sets of issues from another angle, one can see that Wallace-Hadrill views the Frankish church less as an institution than as a grand intellectual experiment defined and driven on by a remarkable series of individuals. Indeed, he says that the heritage of the Merovingian church was one of “saints, bishops and books” (p. 12). He then talks much of saints and bishops, and of books, and of such notions as *renovatio* and *reformatio* and *correctio*. Never, sadly, is this grand design spelled out and defined for us. He praises the originality of Carolingian thinkers (whom, in another place, he called “a rum lot”) and then says that the Carolingian world “loved potted information.” “We should do,” we are told, “the men of the ninth century a monstrous injustice if we concluded that they were mere bibliophiles” (p. 320). But the reader will encounter here more than one hundred fifty books, libraries, scriptoria, and so on. Too much attention is devoted throughout to the West Frankish kingdom at the expense of comparable treatments of the rest of the Carolingian realm. The Carolingian

section has no social history of the clergy comparable to the nice chapter under this heading in the Merovingian section. Carolingian church government is not treated in a sustained fashion, which means that, at the least, we learn too little about how the grand design was implemented.

Two thoughts come to mind after reading this book. First, it is a shame that Wallace-Hadrill did not use his vast erudition to spare his readers the unpleasant task of continuing to consult the old books of Emile Amann and Albert Hauck on the routine matters of Frankish church history; the shame is all the greater because Wallace-Hadrill has written an intellectual history of the church that has no rivals. Second, the very words Wallace-Hadrill uses to characterize Usuard’s martyrology may be turned against him. This book, he says, “takes our eyes away from the bureaucratic splendour of estate management to things that mattered more.” Alas, we have too little here of bureaucratic splendor and not nearly enough of those things that mattered more.

THOMAS F. X. NOBLE
University of Virginia

MICHAEL BORGOLTE. *Geschichte der Grafschaften Alemanniens in fränkischer Zeit*. (Arbeitskreis für Mittelalterliche Geschichte, Vorträge und Forschungen, number 31.) Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke. 1984. Pp. 308. DM 84.

The Habilitations process of the German university system guarantees a steady production of finely researched monographs on specialized subjects. Michael Borgolte’s volume is a model of what modern German scholarship seeks to attain. Graduate students just beginning their apprenticeship in medieval studies can be assigned this volume for its clarity, organization, thorough footnoting, useful maps, complete bibliography, and succinct summary. Professors updating lectures should be able to read the introduction and summaries in an hour or two. Specialists in Carolingian studies may have enough material to keep them busy all summer.

The introduction provides a thoughtful background to the history of the study of the Alemannic countships and illustrates how rapidly in postwar scholarship each new theory that attempts to make sense of confusing information outdates its predecessors. One therefore suspects that this monograph, thorough as it is, will soon be attacked, but Borgolte’s successor, equally well armed with citations and equally puzzled by the references in the scanty documents that have survived, will have benefited from Borgolte’s analysis.

The fundamental problem of the Alemannic countships is that the documents are not consistent in telling us who is a count and what his territories

included. The jumble of names gathered from incomplete collections of documents leave the researcher grasping at theories that seek to generalize political practices. Properly, therefore, the bulk of the monograph is a detailed analysis of documents attempting to reconstruct what a *Grafschaft* was at various times. Borgolte was concurrently writing three separate books on this topic: a commentary on the St. Gall records, this study, and a reconstruction of family and clan ties among the counts. The essential conclusions of all three volumes are found in this one book under review.

Borgolte's conclusions are that the Frankish period was one of continual change. In the eighth century the title of count was fairly widespread, referring to nobles possessing scattered settlements without well-fixed borders, nobles whose authority originated at least as far back as the mid-600s but whose importance had grown since the dissolution of the *Herzogtum*. About 760 a basic reorganization began as Frankish officials gathered authority into their own hands; a more fundamental reform came in 817, as royal officials administratively consolidated much of the region into a few territories. Neither reform, however, ended the presence of independent counts. The division of the Frankish empire in the mid-ninth century created practical problems for the German rulers, who saw danger in giving so much power to any official; therefore, they made efforts to establish differing forms of royal influence in Alemannia and, simultaneously, to divide authority among competing families. Ultimately, the rulers were unable effectively to defend either their hegemony over the counts or the frontiers, and it was easier to acquiesce in the reestablishment of the *Herzogtum* than to fight for royal authority exercised through counts.

Future research should take into account that the title *Graf* never was identical with any particular territory and that independent lords and royal officials shared the title of count. Above all, generalization about political forms in this era is likely to be misleading; one should rely only on detailed analyses of local conditions.

WILLIAM URBAN
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MAURICE KEEN. *Chivalry*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1984. Pp. x, 303. \$25.00.

Recent years have seen a series of studies on the role and meaning of chivalry in medieval society, perhaps because the last echoes of chivalry are fading only in our time. To the works of Arno Borst, Georges Duby, Joachim Bumke, and others, we can now add this important book by Maurice Keen, who

takes a close look at the genesis of chivalry and its functions, forms, and eventual transformation. He arrives at a revised view likely to replace some of the perceptions of chivalry popular among historians and the general public alike.

In particular, Keen takes into account the vernacular texts in which the representatives of chivalry reflected on the nature and purpose of their way of life. He defines chivalry as the culture and ethos of the secular governing class in Western and Central Europe between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries. Chivalry to him is much more than an ideological mystique. Viewing chivalry as conditioned by changes in the technology, tactics, and financing of warfare, he argues that it was not just a matter of form but rather a social phenomenon of great impact and consequence.

The author traces the origins of chivalry to the rise of classic medieval cavalry warfare at the end of the eleventh century. This development raised the cost of military equipment, demanded a new kind of training and economic support, and created a bond of identity among its practitioners. Once the entire nobility had embraced as its own the conduct and customs of the mounted warrior, only those of noble descent could aspire to knighthood and participation in the cult of chivalry. Although its ideals and practices lent themselves easily to religious interpretation, the origins of chivalry were secular. Keen emphasizes the aristocratic and military aspects of chivalry rather than its Christian ones. The knight perceived his calling as analogous to Christian kingship, as an autonomous vocation not dependent on the *sacerdotium*. The practices of chivalry were anything but frivolous; the tournament, for example, both trained the knight in the use of the weapons of his trade and celebrated and accentuated the values and high ideals of chivalry. The historical mythology of chivalry not only drew on the fables of the Celtic tradition and the remembrances of the deeds of Charlemagne but was also fed by classical and Old Testament sources that contributed to a vision of a chivalrous past of considerable sophistication and complexity. In fact, chivalry possessed a rich literary heritage and fostered a high degree of learning and reflection on its traditions. The growing complexity of the cult of chivalry was also demonstrated by the important role of heralds and the development of the science of heraldry, which kept record of noble descent and systematized its distinguishing symbols.

Keen not only takes a positive view of the vigor of chivalrous practice and ethos in general but also in particular argues for the continuing vitality and relevance of chivalry in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Indeed, this book revises the widely accepted interpretation of Johan Huizinga, who looked on chivalry in the later Middle Ages as decadent, divorced from reality, and obsessed with

form. The author is not oblivious to the drastic modifications chivalry experienced in the later medieval centuries, such as the sharper definition of rules, the greater emphasis on lineage, and the attention to ceremony, but he attempts to explain such changes as well as the extravagances and exhibitionism of late medieval chivalry not as signs of decline but as consequences of changing circumstances. For example, the greater attention to ceremony may be accounted for by the rise of heraldry and a new awareness of the rich traditions of chivalry. It is Keen's view that the mounted knight, responsible for his training and equipment, continued to be the mainstay of warfare, that nobility still meant a commitment to virtue, and that courage, loyalty, and service remained powerful ideals. It was only when the technology of war introduced artillery and a new kind of infantry and when military service was professionalized and princes alone were capable of waging war that the institutions and activities of chivalry waned. But the idea of loyal service, now to the sovereign prince, lived on, as did the conception of honor, the ideal of the gentleman, the inspiring example of ancestral achievement, and the adventurous individualism that marked the medieval knight.

Although there will be disagreement with some of the author's views, his major points in this comprehensive and thoroughly researched work—those concerning chivalry's secular origins, its considerable complexity, and its lasting vitality—make for a balanced and persuasive picture of an institution and ethos vital in the shaping of Western perceptions and attitudes.

BERNHARD W. SCHOLZ
Seton Hall University

KENNETH PENNINGTON. *Pope and Bishops: The Papal Monarchy in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. (The Middle Ages.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1984. Pp. xiii, 225. \$30.00.

The subject to which this capable, intriguing, and unpretentious book addresses itself is well captured by its title. If Kenneth Pennington focuses on the papal monarchy of the High Middle Ages, his concern is with papal power expressed in relation not to the temporal rulers of Europe but to the lesser prelates within what was coming to be an increasingly juridical church. As Walter Ullmann and others have pointed out, the relationship of pope and bishops was one of the most troubling of constitutional problems confronting the late medieval church, and, indeed, it still confronts the church today. That problem came to the fore in the late thirteenth century during the great controversy between the mendicant and secular theologians that

Pennington properly describes as "an important turning point in the history of political thought" (pp. 6, 189).

During that controversy, and in the teeth of the secular clergy's claim that the bishops wielded jurisdictional powers independent of the pope, the mendicants advocated the vision of a church in which the papal privileges freeing them from the authority of the bishops were not open to episcopal challenge precisely because episcopal authority itself derived from the pope's *plenitudo potestatis*. But Pennington is not directly concerned with that essentially theological debate. His concern, instead, is to shed light on canonistic theories of papal monarchy as they developed during the two centuries preceding. To that issue he devotes five chapters. Two of them address the development of canonistic doctrines of papal monarchy defining papal and episcopal relations; the other three explore critical areas in which popes exercised jurisdiction in the affairs of bishoprics: episcopal translations, abdications and depositions, papal provisions, papal privileges and exemptions.

The book has been painstakingly researched. Its analyses are carefully nuanced, its limits clearly stated. Pennington disavows any claim to have written either "a detailed history of canonistic thought about papal monarchy" or "a comprehensive history of papal and episcopal relations in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries" (pp. 9–10). But, by attempting to draw connections between theory and practice, he has also undertaken a more difficult task. The price exacted is a somewhat burdensome measure of repetition and a certain lack of clarity in the overall organization of his study. The gain, however, is clear: a convincing demonstration of the degree to which the exaggerated "high papalist" canonistic rhetoric misled late medieval theologians and polemicists as it contrives also to mislead us. For rather than their general theoretical formulations it is their glosses on specific contested issues that best reveal the restricted way in which the canonists so often interpreted papal privilege and the degree to which they refrained from attributing any autocratic power to the pope.

But, if, as Pennington concludes, it is to the theologians that we must attribute the development of the more extreme theories, it is also to the theologians (and not, as he says, to Hostiensis) that we must attribute the authorship of the distinction between the *potentia absoluta* and *ordinata*. That the theological usage of the fourteenth century was affected by the canonistic variant may plausibly be argued. That it derived from it may not.

FRANCIS OAKLEY
Williams College

R. A. FLETCHER. *St. James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*. New York:

Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1984. Pp. xii, 341. \$54.00.

R. A. Fletcher has written a marvelous book about the career of one of the great men of the Spanish Middle Ages, Diego Gelmírez, bishop and archbishop of Santiago de Compostela (1100–40). This is not a biography, because the materials for a historical biography of Gelmírez do not exist. But this man had an account of his career written in the *Historia Compostelana* and never has that work been given such a close and sensitive reading. Fletcher is also probably more familiar with the documents of eleventh- and twelfth-century Galicia than anyone now working in the field, and he has drawn on them skillfully to create a wider context for interpretation. The result is a history of the episcopate that will become a standard work.

The six central chapters are composed of the account of Gelmírez's accession to the see, his stormy relations with Queen Urraca of León-Castile (1109–26), his reform of the cathedral *familia*, his traffic with the papacy, an account of the procedures and structures of the diocese at the time, and, finally, his influence in the wider political world of King Alfonso VII of León-Castile (1126–57). These are preceded by four chapters on early Galicia, Galicia in the eleventh century, the early history of the cult of Saint James, and pilgrimage in the early medieval period, all of which are marvels of brief description and evocation. One envies Fletcher's students.

The text is accompanied by five appendixes that will introduce the neophyte to some of the literature and documents and to some minor considerations that probably should have been included in the text or in one of the other appendixes. There is no bibliography as such, but the index is adequate. There are two tiny, utterly unsatisfactory maps. The book deserved better treatment from its publisher.

As a scholarly account of the life and career of Gelmírez, the work is probably not going to be surpassed. Fletcher is a perceptive and painstaking student of the texts and brings to them a mind of broad and catholic erudition. To my knowledge, the documents that he has employed include all that are extant, so we can hardly expect future revision from that quarter. Future scholarship will, however, place some aspects of his work in a wider context, thereby complementing or even correcting some of his judgments.

Given the present state of Spanish medieval studies, this is inevitable. One must understand that the papal documents for León-Castile have not been edited, nor has an adequate history of the eleventh-century Spanish church appeared. The charters of Alfonso VII have not been edited, and no satisfactory history of his reign has been written. In both

areas work presently in progress will add to our knowledge considerably and can be expected to shed indirect light on Gelmírez. It would be most useful if Fletcher himself would bring his considerable talents to bear on some of these necessary projects.

BERNARD F. REILLY
Villanova University

WILHELM IMKAMP. *Das Kirchenbild Innocenz' III., 1198–1216*. (Päpste und Papsttum, number 22.) Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 1983. Pp. xi, 360. DM 198.

The centrality of the pontificate of Innocent III has never been doubted by those striving to understand the constitutional development of the medieval papacy. Less unanimity is found, however, among scholars probing the educational and intellectual motivations of the pontiff himself. Whether Innocent formally studied law, what his relationship was to the great decretist Huguccio, and to what degree this pope should be seen as a theologian or a canon lawyer or both are fundamental questions that have been treated in recent literature. The present book is a contribution to that discussion, investigating specifically Innocent's "view of the church."

Wilhelm Imkamp's approach is a historical and theological analysis that also looks at Innocent's theological background and method. The author isolates three writings as especially relevant: the *De missarum mysteriis*, the *De quadripartita specie nuptiarum*, and the *Commentarium in septem psalmos poenitentiales*. Included in the discussion are Innocent's sermons and his papal register. (The *De miseria humane conditionis* is set aside as "für das Kirchenbild nicht relevant" [p. 8 n. 45].) No problems of authenticity are seen in these cases, but with the register, as Imkamp is aware, serious problems exist about the extent to which the letters preserved therein reflect the ideas of the pope himself or the ideas of officials in the chancery. This is an issue that is probably impossible to resolve but that dictates caution in using the letters to probe the thoughts of the pontiff (compare pp. 86–90).

Innocent III envisioned the church not only as an institutional entity but also as an eschatological gathering, the *ecclesia militans* and the *ecclesia triumphans* respectively. The liturgical implications are profound, for the ritual of the mass is the link, and the guarantee, of the eschatological fulfillment to be achieved in the future. The liturgy is a bridge between this world and the world to come. The church is also depicted using various images such as the bride of Christ, and Imkamp devotes seventy pages to elucidating the ways in which this traditional concept is developed in the works under

discussion. This image, as employed in Innocent's thought, is seen as "origineller und selbständiger" (p. 271) than other ecclesiological motifs that the pontiff used.

Against the background of ecclesiology the author also treats Innocent III's notion of papal primacy. Innocent expressed the tie between the pope and the Roman church through the image of a spiritual marriage, and, in setting the Roman bishop within the framework of such ecclesiological constructs, Imkamp particularly sees Innocent as both a canonist and a theologian. The intimate link between pope and church is explicated in the treatises and documents at hand with the help of categories borrowed from marriage law. The resulting ideas began to move, as Imkamp sees it, in the direction of later notions of the personal infallibility of the Roman pontiff.

The soundness of this book's method and its analysis will be debated by those who study thirteenth-century ecclesiology. A large quantity of material has been assembled in these pages, the absorption and use of which is facilitated, on the one hand, by a register of citations from both the Bible and Pope Innocent's works but is impeded, on the other hand, by the lack of an index of concepts. The volume opens with a moving tribute to the late Walter Ullmann, written by Georg Denzler, the general editor of the *Päpste und Papsttum* series.

ROBERT SOMERVILLE
Columbia University

DAVID BURR. *Eucharistic Presence and Conversion in Late Thirteenth-Century Franciscan Thought*. (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, number 74, part 3.) Philadelphia: The Society. 1984. Pp. 113. \$12.00.

This is the latest in a series of important articles and short books by David Burr focused on Peter John Olivi, the sacraments, and Franciscan theologians. One of the best of these articles, "Scotus and Transubstantiation," is reproduced in large part here, but most important is Burr's work on thirteenth-century medieval scholastic theologians of the second rank. Burr's aim is to prevent the distortions that occur "when Aquinas and Scotus are made to face one another across the decades like gunfighters on a long, deserted western street, with no hint that the intervening years were filled with continuous debate and development."

Burr shows that before the time of Bonaventure it was customary to affirm eucharistic conversion and to deny both the annihilation of the bread and wine in the sacrament and consubstantiation—the theory that the substance of the bread and wine persisted after Christ's body was present. But he argues that

for Bonaventure and Aquinas the theory of conversion functioned in a new way as an adequate and necessary explanation for the presence of Christ's body in the eucharistic host. Thus, the theory of substantial conversion could be established by reason alone.

Their Franciscan critics disagreed, arguing that no special explanation was required for Christ's presence in two different places: locating the same body in two places was no more difficult than locating two different bodies in the same place, which had been accomplished in the course of several miracles. Consequently, to deny that God could cause a body to be present in two different places was conceiving of God's possibilities too restrictively. Nor was substantial conversion a sufficient explanation of Christ's presence. The existence of Christ's body was not the same as the presence of his body. Therefore, causing Christ's body to exist instead of the substance of bread need not lead to the presence of Christ's body on the altar; indeed, it was more likely to lead to the presence of the converted substance in heaven. The authors of the Franciscan critique came to see the theory of substantial conversion not as demonstrable by reason but as challenging reason.

The Franciscan critique of Aquinas on transubstantiation was motivated by strong views on divine infallibility. It was limited by equally strong adherence to the view that the medieval church could interpret the Bible definitively even when such interpretation led to doctrines seemingly not implied by Scripture and contrary to reason.

Franciscan insistence on limiting divine possibility only by the principle of noncontradiction decisively influenced philosophy and theology. Although this is widely recognized, the late great medievalist Jan Pimborg denied that the Condemnation of 1277 (which implies it) had much impact. In epistemology, I have explored the influence of this principle and the less general principle that "anything God can do by means of secondary causes, he can accomplish directly." Burr shows the similar effect these same principles had in sacramental theology.

Burr's work shows the kind of contribution a historian, thoroughly versed in scholastic theology, can make. He does not limit himself to narrow theological issues, and he is more concerned with the intentions of the authors he presents than whether all their arguments hold. He also clearly establishes that many of Scotus's and Ockham's most important arguments were first stated by others. Specialists will be surprised to learn that on this issue Olivi's views were supported by Richard of Middleton and attacked by Petrus de Trabibus.

Burr's style is frank and unpretentious. He correctly warns that comparison of his translation with the Latin "will illustrate the dangers of the vocabu-

lary" (p. 12 n. 9) and rightly urges his readers to keep their eyes on the footnotes.

One problem for those working in this area is that often the most elementary chronology about authors is unknown and often it has not been determined which works are genuine. Surely historians could make a further contribution in this area.

REGA WOOD
St. Bonaventure University

DONALD M. NICOL. *The Despotate of Epiros, 1267-1479: A Contribution to the History of Greece in the Middle Ages*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1984. Pp. xiii, 297. \$49.50.

In 1204 Western European warriors, justifying their brigandage under the banner of a crusade, captured Constantinople and shattered the Byzantine empire, which would never be put together again. One important fragment comprised what is now northwestern Greece and parts of Yugoslavia and Albania. This rugged, mountainous region was known as Epiros and was inhabited, ruled, and coveted by Albanian tribesmen, Greeks, Serbs, Italians, and Ottoman Turks. There were pirates along its coasts and bandits in its hills. Blood feuds, fratricide, and murder were part of everyday life. In the confusion following the Latin capture of Constantinople, Michael Doukas established himself as leader of this isolated Byzantine territory. His successors, after briefly assuming the title of emperor, were forced to be content with that of despot, a title that was not hereditary and that could be conferred only by the Byzantine emperor, who thus maintained at least nominal control over the distant province. The word "despotate" was of Latin origin and was avoided by Byzantine writers who looked on Epiros as a separatist and rebellious region, but one that was still part of the empire.

For many years Donald M. Nicol has busied himself with this part of the world, which is geographically not very distant yet in essence as remote to the Byzantines in their capital as to us. In 1957 he published a history of Epiros from 1204 to 1267 (or 1268), the year in which Michael II, the first to bear the title of despot, died. In the present volume Nicol completes his account of the despotate as it struggled to maintain independence in fact if not in theory. It lay in the path of Charles of Anjou who aimed at acquiring nothing less than the Byzantine throne and who, among other things, claimed to be king of Albania. The westernmost outpost of the empire, far from Constantinople and closer to Italy and the Latin principalities in Greece, Epiros was coveted by the rulers of Naples, Taranto, and Achaia. The Byzantine emperor never surrendered his suzerainty over the land, and the Epirotes, no

matter how much they valued their freedom, recognized his right to confer the title of despot on their ruler. The emperor granted it to the Italian family of Orsini and for a while managed to bring Epiros more directly under Byzantine control. For the decade spanning the middle of the fourteenth century Epiros was part of the Serbian empire, but some of the region subsequently came under Albanian rule. By the end of the century the Italians were again in charge, with the Tocco family taking over in the fifteenth century. The constant warfare in the area was definitively ended only in 1479 by the Turks, who, as the chronicle of the Tocco family noted, "were always gratified when the Christians were divided."

The book's subtitle is certainly justified and could be expanded to read "a major contribution." This is an authoritative and well-constructed work, consisting of carefully documented narrative history that includes some notes on administration, economy, church, and culture. The volume is attractively presented and contains a helpful map, genealogical tables, a thorough bibliography, and an index.

GEORGE T. DENNIS
Catholic University of America

NORMAN P. TANNER. *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich, 1370-1532*. (Studies and Texts, number 66.) Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies. 1984. Pp. xviii, 279. \$25.00.

Norman P. Tanner's book provides more detail about the external manifestations of religious life in a late medieval English city than has ever been available between two covers. This he does largely through the evidence of wills—over 1800 in all, of which he has carefully analyzed 904—supplemented by other kinds of sources. The results show both the strengths and weaknesses of Tanner's approach.

The strengths are owing primarily to the hardness of the evidence, seen most clearly in the fourteen appendixes that comprise about a third of the book's length. There the evidence from the wills is laid out in tabular form, and a number of the wills are transcribed. To this must be added, however, Tanner's steady awareness of the human aspects of his subject and a number of sensitive observations.

The obvious weaknesses of the approach are that the research is presented in an extremely dry, almost pedestrian fashion and that for the most part one has the impression that Tanner believes wills somehow provide the best approach to the subject. His stated concern is "with what Christianity meant to, and how it was practised by, the mass of Christians." He addresses this concern through the interconnected questions of "movement in the Church from below," new movements in the late medieval

church, and lay piety (p. xv). Given this purpose, though, wills and similar kinds of records are only an ancillary, oblique way of getting at the subject; indeed, the author concedes that the picture he presents "is inevitably an impressionistic one" (p. xvii). But the primary feeling the reader gets is of an overwhelming mass of detail carefully organized in anything but an impressionistic fashion. In particular, a sense of the physical dimension is lacking, all the more surprisingly because Norwich has probably more remains of late medieval ecclesiastical buildings than any other place in England. The restriction of the field of vision to Norwich alone means that other relevant visual evidence (for example, the screen at nearby Attleborough) is not considered.

Despite these shortcomings, the book will be used, indeed plundered, by students of both late medieval England and late medieval religion with ease and with gratitude. As a "presentation of research" it is exemplary, but it only lays the groundwork for the "big book" on the subject that the title suggests and we need. One hopes that Tanner himself will go on to write that book.

RICHARD W. PFAFF
University of North Carolina

MODERN EUROPE

BRIAN VICKERS, editor. *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1984. Pp. xiv, 408. \$39.50.

This volume of essays by participants in a 1982 symposium examines the disputed influence of Renaissance magic on the rise of modern science. Brian Vickers's introduction and essay, some one hundred twenty-five pages in all, comprise over a quarter of the book; Richard S. Westfall contributes an essay of some fifty-five pages; and the remaining space is shared equally between eleven other contributors.

The essays are stimulating and provocative, especially the entrenched views of Vickers who identifies three distinct phases in the efforts of historians to assess the place of Renaissance magic in the Scientific Revolution. The first phase dismissed magic "as entertaining but irrelevant" (p. 1); the second not merely accorded magic an honorable status but also at times declared it to have made the Scientific Revolution possible, a thesis advanced particularly by Frances Yates. In the third phase battle lines are drawn; although Yates's thesis has its supporters, other historians agree with Vickers that "the Yates thesis [is] almost totally unfounded" (p. 6). Vickers contends that, because the occult tradition contributed nothing to science, the problem is rather to

explain why precisely those scientists who sharply attacked the occult mentality also retained many of its attributes.

Vickers continues his attack on the Yates thesis in his long, scholarly contribution on occult symbolism. Not surprisingly, the other contributors do not always agree with him. They have all written intriguing essays: Nicholas H. Clulee on John Dee, W. L. Hine on Marin Mersenne, Robert S. Westman on Johannes Kepler and Robert Fludd, Edward Rosen and Judith V. Field on Kepler, Ian Maclean on Girolamo Cardano and Julius Scaliger, Graham Rees on Francis Bacon, Westfall on Isaac Newton, Mordechai Feingold on the occult tradition in Renaissance English universities, Robin Briggs on witch-hunting in Lorraine, Stuart Clark on the scientific status of demonology, and Lotte Mulligan on disputes over "reason" and "revelation" in mid-seventeenth-century England. An essay of central importance is Westfall's verdict on Newton, because in 1972 he had argued that hermetic elements in Newton's thought were not antithetical but wedded to the scientific enterprise. Vickers welcomes a "cooling off" (p. 21) in Westfall's position, but one that is not transparently obvious to this reviewer. True, Westfall does write that Newton so transformed what he took from alchemy that he could justifiably "see the final result of his work as the perfection of the mechanical philosophy rather than its denial" (p. 332). Even so, the positive influence of alchemy on Newton's *Principia* cannot be ignored. Vickers respectfully comments that "Professor Westfall has not wholly convinced me" (p. 23).

In my view Vickers concentrates on the most extreme form of the occult tradition and then understandably claims that he can see no contribution of magic to modern science. Bacon predicted differently, describing magic as the practical application of investigation into the forms of nature and "instances of magic" as the achievement of effects that are so very great compared to the apparent smallness of the material causes that they seem like miracles. Whether magic will be able to produce such "miracles," he advised, "time will tell." Time has told. Bacon would need considerable convincing that the purified natural magic he advocated did not contribute substantially to the achievement of the "miracles" and "diabolical marvels" of modern science. As this excellent book illustrates, the third phase is not yet over.

BRIAN EASLEA
University of Sussex

VITTORIO E. GIUNTELLA. *La città dell'illuminismo: L'idea e il nuovo volto*. (La Cultura, number 25.) Rome: Studium. 1982. Pp. xxi, 215. L. 9,000.

Vittorio E. Giuntella, the author of this delightful book on eighteenth-century urban history, has dedicated this publication to those former students of his who were dreaming of a "new Jerusalem" during the riots of 1968. Based on classroom lectures, almost every chapter sparkles with keen observations. The book is divided into two sections: "The Idea of the City" and "The New Face of the City." Included are separate indexes of people and of places and numerous informative footnotes. The book has been edited with care, but at least one inaccuracy slipped through: Philadelphia is not in New Jersey.

According to Giuntella, the two most visible changes in European cities between 1650 and 1789 were the bypassing and often the removal of the ancient city walls and the repudiation of the Gothic style (particularly in Paris, but not in London). Giuntella agrees with Lewis Mumford that the absolutist regime and the city were closely interrelated. New capitals like St. Petersburg, Turin, Berlin, Karlsruhe, and Mannheim required royal authority and lots of money. The chief new urban features in the era of absolutism were the *places royales* (such as those in Nancy) and the suburban palaces (such as Versailles, Schönbrunn, and Caserta). Bernini's Rome was the outstanding example of the baroque style. Peter the Great started to use Italian baroque architects to design his new city but soon replaced them with neoclassicists.

During the Enlightenment it seemed that almost everyone in Paris was involved in the debate over the city; most expressed hostility toward its existing form. The article "Ville" by Antoine-Gaspard Boucher d'Argis in Diderot's *Encyclopédie* stressed the city's corruption and vice. Rousseau's first impression of Paris was of a city in hell, although he did concede that it was intellectually alive. For Rousseau, Geneva was the ideal city, but Chambéry and Annecy were also acceptable to him. Antonio Genovesi took a very negative view of squalid Naples, as William Hogarth did of London. William Penn wanted to see "green country towns." In many places demands were rising for safer, more sanitary cities with wider streets and an adequate water supply. There was heated controversy over the esthetic advantages and benefits to the flow of traffic of a new rectangular pattern for cities, and in the New World Thomas Jefferson emerged as an articulate advocate of rectangularity.

In the eighteenth century, much utopian literature depicted the ideal city, as, for example, Voltaire's Eldorado and Villeneuve de Listonai's Selenopoli, which was to be constructed on the far side of the moon. The utopian spinning center that Ferdinand I dreamed of establishing at San Leucio near Caserta represents a similar aspiration. Religion inspired the utopian communities founded by

the Moravian Brethren. The author considers Rome, Moscow, and Geneva as three quite different manifestations of the eighteenth century's conception of the "city of God."

In part 2, Giuntella points out that disasters such as the London fire (1666) and the Lisbon earthquake (1755) made it necessary to give serious thought to how such devastated cities should be rebuilt. In London advocates of the old pattern generally prevailed, but in Lisbon, thanks to the Marquês de Pombal, a more enlightened plan was implemented until his dismissal by Queen Maria I. The new capitals of St. Petersburg and Washington were the century's outstanding examples of urban planning, whereas burgeoning Naples, Europe's third largest city, had no plan at all. The author also points out that Napoleon I did more to improve Paris after 1799 than had all of the leaders in the previous decade of revolution.

In the conclusion to this fascinating book, Giuntella observes that by 1800 the industrial city had already begun to emerge in Northwestern Europe and that, unlike the ancient city, it included separate quarters for workers and other occupational groups. Nevertheless, the utopian dream of a more human city that would be close to nature and the sky persisted.

CHARLES F. DELZELL
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MAXINE BERG *et al.*, editors. *Manufacture in Town and Country before the Factory*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. ix, 213. \$39.50.

This collection of essays is based on the Social Science Research Council conference on "Manufacture in Town and Country before the Factory" held in 1980. The essays have a unity of purpose, namely, to explore a "relativistic" view of the early European industrial system in order to counter the commonly held "linear" explanation of the Industrial Revolution as a progressive discontinuity.

This position is expanded in the opening essay, written by the three editors, Maxine Berg, Pat Hudson, and Michael Sonenscher. They draw on insights provided by recent work in economic and social history and, paradoxically, research stimulated by the theory of protoindustrialization. Their desire to assess eighteenth-century work and production patterns in their own context, to analyze continuity and durability as well as change in modes of production, and to consider culture and custom in working relationships point to a less dramatic but more varied assessment of the nature of the early industrial system. This opening is neatly complemented by the second essay, by Berg, analyzing the ways in which contemporaries themselves assessed

industrial change and showing that Adam Smith's theories were part of an evolving sequence of economic thought, not a lone beacon as usually portrayed.

The remaining two-thirds of the book is taken up with five research essays exploring these themes in particular regional contexts. Three discuss the structure of manufacture in Languedoc, three German regions, and the West Riding respectively. Two essays examine the experience of work and its rewards, one through examination of the urban industries of eighteenth-century Paris and the other through a careful assessment of the meaning of "embezzlement" in preindustrial England.

The whole forms a stimulating package, the careful selection and revisions ensuring a more even quality than is often achieved in conference proceedings. The opening essay in particular will be valuable as an accessible analysis of processes of industrial continuity and change in early European industrialization.

ERIC PAWSON
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J. H. ELLIOTT. *Richelieu and Olivares*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1984. Pp. viii, 189. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$9.95.

It comes as no surprise to those who are familiar with the work of J. H. Elliott that this latest study is a tour de force. He has taken a difficult and complex subject, skillfully reduced it to its most basic elements, and written a brilliant little book that is both intellectually provocative and literarily fluid. Here is history at its best.

Elliott demonstrates that Richelieu and Olivares, the principal ministers of France and Spain under Louis XIII and Philip IV, shared more similarities than is usually recognized. Both men were ambitious and had grandiose designs for their respective countries. While they were authoritarian in manner and purpose, yet they shared an intellectual commitment to both reason and prudence. Both were cautious and meticulous, favoring peace when possible, but overly eager to demonstrate their bravado by resorting to war. They were both dedicated to major economic and administrative reform but failed to convince their more cautious contemporaries of its value. And they both faced the challenge of how to impose their will on irresolute but capricious monarchs who at any moment could reduce them to political impotence.

Elliott also demonstrates how similar the policies of the two ministers were, how close each came to achieving his goals, yet, in the end, how far they

both missed. Olivares emerges from this study as a much more complex and subtle personality than usually depicted, whereas Richelieu appears somewhat less masterful and modern. Richelieu was "a man deeply imbued, like his rival, with the traditional ideal of 'reputation'; a man who, again like his rival, sacrificed reform to war; a man who, so far from being the exponent of a nineteenth-century style of *Realpolitik*, saw himself as a Christian statesman and devoted much time and energy to grounding his policies on Christian principles" (p. 166). Both men belonged to their times.

The author concludes that the differences between the two countries—as between the two men—were not great. If the countries had different problems, their statesmen had similar methods. Spain, he points out, faced the overwhelming problem of economic and spiritual regeneration, while France faced the challenge of recovering a sense of national purpose and cohesiveness after a half century of civil war. "If Richelieu achieved his triumph by a hair's breadth, the margin by which Olivares was defeated was correspondingly close" (p. 165).

In every respect this is a remarkably clear and compact book. Above all, it is a convincing demonstration of the value of comparative history. No number of separate national or biographical histories could have achieved the integration and penetration that he has achieved by asking the same questions about each man and probing equally in both Spanish and French sources for answers to those questions. Elliott's scholarship is wide-ranging as well as meticulous, and his insights are both thoughtful and thought-provoking.

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JOEL SCHWARTZ. *The Sexual Politics of Jean-Jacques Rousseau*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1984. Pp. xi, 196. \$17.00.

Strictly speaking, Joel Schwartz's work consists primarily of a double argument of political philosophy that draws inspiration more from the questions of modern feminism and modern notions of the social—and sexual—good than from the historical debates about Rousseau's work. Historians should benefit from Schwartz's effort, as they should always benefit from the interventions of political philosophers into historical questions. But they will only be able to do so if they suspend some of their normal canons of judgment, for Schwartz combines some acute insights into Rousseau's views of sexuality with a veritable bazaar of attitudes, opinions, and oversights that offer plenty for those wedded to their own pieties and professional jealousies to hate.

According to Schwartz, Rousseau's work contains two distinct arguments concerning sexuality that Rousseau himself never fully disentangled or resolved. The first stresses sexuality as the inescapable interdependence of men and women and constitutes an argument in favor of heterosexuality as the mutual recognition of men's and women's distinct powers over each other. The second stresses sexuality as emasculation and constitutes an argument in favor of "liberation," which is to say narcissism, androgyny, and the freedom from bondage to any other consciousness or sexuality.

Schwartz explores in turn Rousseau's notions of natural sexuality, according to which men and women are independent of each other; of civilized, or political, sexuality, according to which men and women rule over each other and thereby benefit society by establishing links of interdependence; of the relation between sexual dependence and individual development, which relegates men to dependence on the women who rule them and prevent them from being self-sufficient; and of the relation between grand romantic love and reality, as exemplified in *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. Throughout, Schwartz demonstrates considerable skill as a textual critic who seeks to establish the logical or illogical development of ideas within and among Rousseau's disparate works. The intra- and intertextual patterns he seeks to establish effectively shed light on Rousseau's attitudes toward sexuality. They also derive from Schwartz's concern with sexuality in our own time. The concluding chapter, "What Is Living and What Is Dead in Rousseau's Sexual Politics," draws on Rousseau to castigate the narcissistic and androgynous implications of sexual liberation and to celebrate the social benefits of institutionalized sexual difference.

Engaged intellectual work has an important place in the academy, but it requires, if anything, more than usual care. Schwartz has left himself open to criticism on many flanks. There will be those who find his Rousseau more firmly anchored in the late twentieth century than in the late eighteenth. And, although the criticism may not be entirely fair, it does underscore his uneven attention to the historical context of Rousseau's thought. Others will find his attention to the scholarship of his predecessors cavalier. Again, if not entirely fair—he is a political scientist who works in the textual mode of political philosophy—the criticism has some validity. The works of Robert Derathe, Nancy Miller, Tony Tanner, and Victor Wexler, among others, could have strengthened, expanded, or challenged his arguments at many points. Finally, many feminist scholars will find his representation of feminist thought less than satisfactory and his arguments against his construction of it less than compelling. But feminist scholarship, which any treatment of sexuality can

ignore only in bad faith, remains unsettled in its theoretical basis and thus open to contributions from all quarters. Schwartz's intervention commands attention and a serious criticism that opens the argument well beyond the arbitrarily and selectively idealist terrain on which he has posed it.

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JAMES MILLER. *Rousseau: Dreamer of Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1984. Pp. xii, 272. \$25.00.

This book is about more than Rousseau; it is about the belated birth and early death of democratic possibilities in modern politics. James Miller's passionate argument is that, save for Rousseau, the dream of participatory democracy might never have entered our history and the spell of Plato's denunciation of democracy as a tyrant-breeding anarchy might never have been broken. But thanks to Rousseau and the sans-culottes the dream became reality for a moment during the French Revolution, only to lose out to forces that appropriated the word "democracy" for their own undemocratic purposes. Both modern dictatorial and constitutional regimes claim to be democratic; neither is.

Miller's project is to revive the old assessment of Rousseau as a democrat by placing novel emphasis on the role of imagination, reverie, and dreaming in shaping the accounts of Geneva sprinkled throughout Rousseau's writings. When he dreamed of Geneva, Rousseau dreamed of democracy. His imagination, after reversing the Platonic preference for the "idea" over the "image," politicized its newly acquired epistemological respectability by painting a portrait of Genevans whose civic virtue was as natural, expressive, and egalitarian as that of the Spartans had been unnatural, repressive, and dependent on the institution of slavery.

If Miller is right, one of the most powerful contemporary interpretations of Rousseau is wrong. In some of the best publications of the last two decades, Rousseau is presented as a thinker whose rejection of social existence is so total as to rule out all hope, democratic or otherwise, that politics can ever save us from ourselves. A Rousseau whose radicalism can only lead to despair and quietism can be found in the writings of Bertrand de Jouvenel and, more comprehensively, in Judith Shklar's *Men and Citizens* (1969). When Miller argues that the Genevans of Rousseau's imagination had only to assert their natural *bonté* in order to be virtuous citizens, he is challenging Shklar's contention that Rousseau saw civic virtue and natural goodness as incompatible ideals. Rousseau's notion of a "golden age" of isolated families in which the social and natural desires

of the self are one and the same—an age still to be found, Rousseau insisted, among the inhabitants of some snowbound villages high in the Alps and one that Wolmar and Julie consciously sought to revive—is, according to Shklar, an ideal that is possible only before the advent of civilization (*Discours sur l'inégalité*) or in defiance of civilization (*La Nouvelle Héloïse*). In either case civilization inevitably destroys the age of gold. The sole remedy for the ills begotten by social existence is the highly repressive virtue of the ancient Spartans that makes us whole at the cost of denaturing us and denying us privacy. We can avoid the malady of a divided self only by being totally public or totally private, yet we can be neither since the modern world outlaws both the rebirth of the Golden Age and a return to Sparta. Thus, Rousseau's great achievement, as Shklar sees it, is to illuminate the depths of our hopelessness.

Miller's contention that the Genevan republic represents the Golden Age and the civic ideal rolled into one, their differences reconciled and transcended, is a major claim. It is also a controversial one. What is perhaps most troubling in his re-creation of Rousseau's Geneva is that he explicitly refuses to distinguish between quotations drawn from comments on "urban Geneva" and "rural Switzerland" (p. 26), a procedure exposing him to the suspicion that the *Aufhebung* is his, not Rousseau's. Our uncertainty increases when we encounter two consecutive quotations on *égalité* in the Swiss family (p. 30) that are treated as having the same meaning. In the first instance, however, *égalité* means equality, whereas in the second it is better translated as equanimity and is used by Rousseau to describe the emotional comfort of membership in the highly inegalitarian household of the Wolmars, masters of peasants. In truth, any synthesis of Rousseau's scattered and fragmentary remarks on Geneva runs the risk of going beyond the texts. It may be significant that Miller's account of Rousseau's influence during the French Revolution is based on the idea of popular sovereignty and on popular images of Rousseau's life, not on images of Geneva.

Right or wrong on Geneva, Miller's argument is provocative, his prose elegant, his ability to combine biography, political theory, and philosophy extraordinary, and some of his insights seem fated to leave a permanent mark. Particularly admirable are the demonstration that Rousseau reversed the Platonic cycle of decay, making it a fall from rather than toward democracy, and the recounting of Rousseau's attempt to read democracy into the "ancient constitution" of Geneva. Miller's is one of the most exciting interpretive works on Rousseau and his legacy to appear in recent years.

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MICHAEL ALLEN GILLESPIE. *Hegel, Heidegger, and the Ground of History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1984. Pp. xv, 217. \$22.00.

The philosophy of history is sometimes said to be divided into two parts: the first is so-called analytic philosophy of history, concerned with problems of historical explanation and narration; the second is so-called speculative, or metaphysical, philosophy of history, concerned with the nature and destiny of man. Although the distinction between analytic and metaphysical philosophy of history has perhaps been overdrawn, it at least serves the heuristic role of telling us where an author's interests lie. Michael Allen Gillespie is clearly not interested in the problem of historical explanation: Carl Hempel is mentioned but once—in a footnote where, incidentally, his name is misspelled—and Karl Popper's *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (1950) is dismissed as a work of ignorance. What does interest Gillespie is metaphysical philosophy of history and, specifically, what he describes as the search for the "ground" of history. As seen by Gillespie, modern philosophy of history commenced with Immanuel Kant's attempt to resolve the antinomy between natural necessity and human freedom. Kant's failure to solve this problem helps account for the emergence of G. W. F. Hegel's system, and Hegel's failure in turn gave rise to the nihilism dealt with by Friedrich Nietzsche and Martin Heidegger.

Although this book is erudite and clearly merits publication, I have some doubts concerning its significance. The author proceeds chronologically from the Greeks to the present, but basically what we have are two long, separate essays on Hegel and Heidegger; what is lacking is a systematic and rigorous comparison of their doctrines, if only in a final chapter. Although the author's exposition of Hegel and Heidegger is intelligent and well written, his criticisms are brief and rather stock; this is a serious deficiency in what purports to be a history of the failure to find an adequate ground of history. His primary criticism of Hegel seems to be that Hegel ignores the "darkness" (or the accidental side) of history, but this results from Gillespie's coming at Hegel from the point of view of the *Phenomenology* more than from the *Science of Logic* and Hegel's lectures on the philosophy of history. Had the author taken seriously Hegel's distinction between necessity and accident and Hegel's teleology of history, he might have realized that Hegel did see the darkness of history and did not believe that history would necessarily or always continue to move toward its goal or end of an ever-increasing human freedom. Gillespie's criticism that Heidegger failed to provide adequate criteria for distinguishing between authentic and inauthentic experiences of Being is a familiar objection, but perhaps the difficulty

goes deeper than Gillespie realizes. Hegel regarded the concept of Being as empty in comparison with the concept of Becoming, and, at least in this respect, Hegel may have been wiser than Heidegger.

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DAVID W. LOVELL. *From Marx to Lenin: An Evaluation of Marx's Responsibility for Soviet Authoritarianism*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1984. Pp. xii, 239. \$34.50.

David W. Lovell begins this book by stating that the general issue to be discussed is "the relationship between political and social theories and the states and policies inspired by or attributed to them." More specifically he asks: "Was Soviet authoritarianism a necessary or inevitable consequence of Lenin's attempt to fulfill what he understood as Marx's project?" (p. ix). The author attempts an answer by tracing the Marxist discussion about the transition to socialism from Marx to Lenin. As for the relationship between theory and political reality in this context, we are told that "environmental factors" (that is, Russian conditions) provided "a convenient justification for policies which would nevertheless have been carried out, or were implicit in Lenin's conception of the Party and of the dictatorship of the proletariat" (p. 9). A few pages later, realizing the complexities of his task, Lovell reduces his analytic problems still further "by discounting the importance of Russian conditions in determining the fundamental features of Soviet authoritarianism" (p. 20). On the next page, however, we are back among the conditions of Russia: "Until at least the end of 1918 the Soviet state in its basic political features represented an outcome consistent with Lenin's theory."

Turning for clarification to the conclusion, we find the assertion that "Lenin's practice and Lenin's theory, . . . two sides of the one coin, largely determined and justified the early political character of the new Soviet state"; the historical factors—fierce resistance to the Bolshevik coup and the defeat of Russia in World War I—"were not decisive" (p. 188). But the book ends on a far more limited and commonplace note: "Lenin supplied the theoretical foundations for Soviet authoritarianism," and "Marx's project" was not directly or necessarily responsible for it (p. 197). What, incidentally, was "Marx's project" (a recurrent phrase)? According to the author, "a Marxist is one who claims to adhere to Marxism as he himself conceives it," and Marxism is not "a set of substantive doctrines, but . . . the idea of unity and diversity something like that of a family: members share some characteristics, but they may

not all share any one characteristic" (p. 14). The family nature of "Marx's project," however, is never explained.

As an inquiry into the evolution of Marxist thinking on how to deal with political opposition in the transition to socialism, this study can claim some scholarly merit. Lovell first traces Marx's and Engels's thought on the subject and then looks into the revisionists' adaptations. Next he details the consideration of this issue in the Russian revolutionary movement, and, finally, he examines Lenin's writings on the rule of the party and the proletarian dictatorship. The author's analysis culminates in the obvious: "Marx's formula for the defense of the socialist revolution was transformed by Lenin, under circumstances quite different from those Marx had anticipated, into a recipe for unbounded authoritarianism" (p. 187). Thus, theory has again become dependent on historical circumstances, a subject beyond the author's comprehension.

While offering an exegesis of Marxist thought on the transition to socialism, this book merely contributes clever confusion to the general issue of the relationship between political theory and political practice.

T. H. VON LAUE
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GEORGE F. KENNAN. *The Fateful Alliance: France, Russia, and the Coming of the First World War*. New York: Pantheon. 1984. Pp. xx, 300. \$19.95.

The background of the First World War, a conflict with hazy origins and deadly consequences, has fascinated generations of historians. George F. Kennan in a series of three books is examining this question from the viewpoint of the development of Franco-Russian relations from 1875 to 1918. Viewing the war "as the great seminal catastrophe of this century—the event which, more than any others, excepting only, perhaps the discovery of nuclear weaponry and the development of the population-environmental crisis, lay at the heart of the failure and decline of Western civilization," he is deeply concerned with what went wrong and what lessons can be learned from past bitter experience. In *The Decline of Bismarck's European Order* (1979), from which the above quotation is taken (pp. 3–4), Kennan examines the major crises between 1875 and 1890. The present work covers the shorter period 1890 to 1894, the crucial years during which the alliance was negotiated. The theme remains the same—to present "a clearer understanding of at least a few of those many missteps and misconceptions by which a forward-looking and confident nineteenth-century Europe brought itself, through two world wars, to the dreadful bewilderments and

dangers of the nuclear age" (pp. xiv–xv). A third volume will bring the story to 1917–18, when the alliance broke down after the October Revolution.

Kennan discusses in detail the steps by which the Russian and French governments concluded the two agreements that formed the basis of the alliance: the exchange of letters in 1891, which established a loose entente, and the much more formidable military pact of 1894. These negotiations have been treated in numerous other accounts; this book's major value lies in the author's interpretation of the events and his analysis of the motivations and character of the statesmen concerned. On the Russian side major attention is paid to Tsar Alexander III, to the chief of staff General Nikolai N. Obruchev, and, in particular, to the foreign minister Nikolai K. Giers, who is praised as "probably the most seasoned and able statesman of his time in Europe, after Bismarck" (p. 10). For the French the activities of Chief of Staff General Raoul de Boisdeffre, Premier Charles de Freycinet, and Foreign Minister Alexandre Ribot are carefully analyzed.

Many obstacles stood in the path of agreement, including the fact that the Russian government had no outstanding disputes with Germany; it also had doubts about the stability and reliability of the Third Republic. In contrast, France's position was clear; it needed an ally against Germany. The Russian military and eventually the tsar favored an alliance; Giers consistently opposed it. Throughout the text the author's sympathies are with Giers. Kennan does not approve of general alliances that do not contain stated positive objectives. He warns of the mentality behind military agreements and the tacit assumption of the inevitability of war, an idea resting "exclusively on the fact that 'we' and 'they' are both preparing so intensely for it" (p. 156). He regrets that the Franco-Russian military alliance gave "the military . . . essentially, a free hand. . . . These military machines constituted, in reality, an irresistible force, and the determining one." It was "those deep, powerful currents that military thinking engendered . . . upon which the nations were carried, unaware and unsuspecting, to the tragedies of 1914–1918" (p. 248). The book concludes with a similar warning that in "the history of the negotiation of the Franco-Russian Alliance one can witness the growth of a whole series of those aberrations, misunderstandings, and bewilderments that have played so tragic and fateful a part in the development of Western civilization over the subsequent decades" (p. 257).

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MILES KAHLER. *Decolonization in Britain and France: The Domestic Consequences of International Relations.*

Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1984. Pp. xiv, 426. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$9.95.

Miles Kahler has written a comparative study of the effects of decolonization on French and British politics in the two decades after 1945. Kahler examines how external relations—specifically, those between a metropolis and colonies seeking independence—affect politics at home as well as how the structure of domestic politics helps shape foreign policy. His analysis is presented persuasively, and he perceptively relates events to larger theoretical questions.

The best-argued chapters of the book compare the reactions of British and French conservative and socialist parties toward decolonization. Although British Conservatives saw themselves as the imperialist party, neither electoral needs nor ideology required them to resist what Harold Macmillan in 1960 called the "wind of change." In the Commonwealth the Tories already had an acceptable model for liquidating the empire. The French right, however, smarting at the affront to national honor caused by the 1940 defeat, was intent on maintaining France's colonies. While the British Labour party identified itself with liberal anti-imperialism, the French socialists, seeking to present themselves as a "national" party in contradistinction to the communists, became (under Guy Mollet in the mid-1950s) a chief force behind the effort to "pacify" Algeria. The socialists, moreover, saw the colonial empire—with its stress on assimilation and incorporation with the metropolis—as the creation and legacy of the Third Republic to which they felt loyal. The British Labour party, on the other hand, saw the colonies as outposts of Tory aristocrats and exploitative capitalists. It was de Gaulle's coming to power in 1958, in a coup engineered by *colons* and a sympathetic military, that finally decolonized the nationalism of the right, making possible the settlement of the Algerian question.

Kahler's discussions of party structure and policy make good use of James Q. Wilson's theories and, even more, of Albert Hirschman's concepts of "exit, voice, and loyalty." There is a chapter on the influence of business firms and organizations with colonial interests on metropolitan politics, as well as one treating the domestic role played by Europeans resident in the colonies. The latter chapter is perhaps too abbreviated to be fully satisfying.

The author himself speculates whether the differences between French and English circumstances were so great as to make the two situations not strictly comparable. A study of the relationship between metropolitan British politics over the past century and the Irish Question might have provided a more adequate and revealing comparison to France's problems in Algeria. Indeed, in the years immediately before 1914 there was a possibility of a

British military revolt if the Irish were granted home rule.

The reader may feel overwhelmed by what at times seems superfluous detail and repetitious argument presented in the two long chapters on political parties, but he is not seriously discomforted. The style is clear and effective. All in all, Kahler has produced a workmanlike (in the best sense of the term) and useful study.

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JENS HACKER. *Der Ostblock: Entstehung, Entwicklung und Struktur, 1939–1980*. Baden-Baden: Nomos. 1983. Pp. xxxi, 1047.

Jens Hacker's *Ostblock* is an impressive study of the origins and development of Soviet bloc relations from 1939 to 1980. Despite its deceptively familiar title, the book is not just another recounting of events. Rather, it is the first attempt of its kind to review and compare the evolution of each Soviet satellite in relation to the Soviet Union at the political, economic, ideological, military, and legal levels.

Hacker devotes almost as much space to contemporary historiography as to Soviet foreign policy. Parts of this bibliographical discussion are not new to the American reader, since Hacker takes great care to introduce his West German public to American political analysts such as Zbigniew Brzezinski and Seweryn Bialer as well as to authors published by *Problems of Communism*. Yet his thorough examination of theses held by West German scholars is most interesting. In addition, Hacker relies on analyses of Soviet foreign policy furnished by eyewitnesses such as Milovan Djilas. The wealth of information supplied just by the bibliography, which contains approximately two thousand titles, makes the book worth buying.

Der Ostblock is divided chronologically. The starting point is the Russo-German pact of nonaggression of August 23, 1939. The next logical division is 1945, after which the chapters are divided into what seem at first glance the crises that have shaken the Eastern bloc since the end of World War II: 1947, 1953, 1956, 1960, 1964, 1968, and 1980. Yet a closer look reveals an attempt to divide the postwar period into phases that correspond to changes in the Soviet doctrine of "integration." The year 1947, for example, was chosen because of Molotov's refusal to participate in the Marshall Plan and not because of the beginning of political repression in Poland and Czechoslovakia. The year 1956 signals Khrushchev's change of policy after the Hungarian revolt, 1960 the beginning of the Sino-Soviet conflict, and 1964 the beginning of a new phase of military and

economic cooperation after Khrushchev's failure to achieve a more global "integration." Finally, Hacker selected 1968 because since then the Soviet Union has perceived itself as the organizer and policeman of the Eastern bloc. By choosing not to discuss the Polish August, Hacker implies that the Soviet position has not been altered by it.

Such a chronological assessment also implies the artificiality of the Soviet Union's policy of hegemony. The cracks revealed by the Prague Spring have, however, been sealed by shows of military strength and the use of fear, the only cement, in Hacker's opinion, for the Soviet bloc. Although he admires Soviet leaders for being able to pull the East European nations together despite the break with Peking, Hacker strongly disapproves of Soviet tactics. Indeed, one of his most original contributions is the way in which he demonstrates that there is no legal justification to Soviet domination in Eastern Europe, a thesis developed brilliantly in the last chapter, "The Soviet Union as Policeman of the Close-knit 'Socialist Community.'"

If there is no legal justification to the existing division of Europe, is there one to be found in its origins? Such is the question raised in the first chapter. Because of the West's lack of interest in Central Europe from Locarno to Yalta, Hacker states, Stalin shaped his territorial aims so as to erase the Polish-Soviet frontier of 1921 and to gain as much as possible from the conflict between Germany and the Western democracies. By saying this, Hacker clearly positions himself among those who wish, in the name of the right of all nations to decide their own fate, that history had taken another course. His condemnation of Stalin's motives is balanced by a condemnation of the West's gullibility and desire not to see what was happening, a statement not void of prophetic accents.

Neither theses nor facts advanced by Hacker sound very new to the student of East European affairs, but the method adopted in presenting them makes stimulating reading. First, his analysis of organizational structures between the Soviet Union and each satellite brings out the cold-blooded calculations of Soviet policies. Second, his scrupulous evaluation of Soviet doctrine in the light of available official documents such as public statements, treaties, minutes of party congresses, and state-sanctioned newspapers allows the reader an in-depth perception of Kremlin dynamics. This is an invaluable tool for both the student and the scholar. The picture of the Eastern bloc that emerges is clear, accurate, and thorough. Hacker's detective work has produced a volume that promises to remain a classic on the question.

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JOHN L. MCMULLAN. *The Canting Crew: London's Criminal Underworld, 1550–1700*. (Crime, Law, and Deviance.) New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1984. Pp. ix, 226. \$25.00.

Despite the unique richness of contemporary narratives and a wealth of untapped manuscript sources, the London underworld is poorly represented in the rapidly expanding literature on the history of crime. Thus, a study of the low life of early modern London needs little justification, and certainly not the pretentious rationale advanced by John L. McMullan. Dissatisfied with the lack of "analytical imagination" shown by historians of crime and their "astonishing reluctance to familiarize themselves with the theoretical or topical discourses developed by criminologists and sociologists" (propositions that should interest, among others, Douglas Hay whose highly sophisticated, analytical, and imaginative "War, Dearth and Theft in the Eighteenth Century: The Record of the English Courts," in *Past and Present*, [1982], finds no place in McMullan's bibliography), McMullan sets out "to push back disciplinary frontiers . . . by offering a new interpretation of the London underworld" (p. 5). Since there is not yet an "old" interpretation of London crime, it is difficult to know what this new wisdom might be, particularly since McMullan's account is couched in prose so opaque that the lady whose stylistic advice is acknowledged in the preface must be in some danger of prosecution under the trade descriptions legislation. Mercifully, word limitations preclude extensive quotation here, but anyone concerned to incriminate sociologists in the death of plain English will find persuasive evidence on almost every page.

Attempts to penetrate this pea-soup prose reveal a world in which both chronology and topography are alarmingly vague. Although the study purports to terminate in 1700, many of its conclusions rest on eighteenth-century evidence, and some of the activities described—"thief-taking," for example—were almost exclusively eighteenth-century phenomena. This chronological sleight of hand is epitomized by the reproduction on the cover of Ben Jonson's "Bartholomew Fair," dated 1739. More seriously, McMullan's grasp of London's topography is decidedly hazy. His failure to include a map (presumably on the ground that maps lack analytical imagination) leaves readers adrift in a "London" whose frontiers have been pushed back as far as Newmarket, some sixty miles to the northeast, and into Kent, approximately twenty miles south of the Thames. The few signposts are often misleading: Hamstead Heath (p. 63) for the well-known Hampstead Heath, north of the city; Feters Lane (p. 62), presumably Fetter Lane, although not so indexed. Other signs of carelessness, or imagination, abound. The court of hustings appears as the court of

huskings (p. 74); the famous Kent magistrate figures in text, index, and bibliography as Justice Lombarde, an uncomfortable mutation for a man whose name was, of course, Lambert; and the analysis of criminal process (pp. 46–48), relying on the discredited work of Joel Samaha, is often in error and always simplistic. Finally, the bibliography, though extensive, is incomplete.

With respect to David Greenberg (quoted on the cover), this book will be a "standard reference" only for those seeking support for the proposition that sociologists give history a bad name. It should be used, if at all, only with extreme caution.

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JONATHAN DOLLIMORE. *Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology, and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1984. Pp. viii, 312.

Writing in the shadow of such Marxist historians as Christopher Hill, E. P. Thompson, and Raymond Williams and drawing on the insights of playwright Bertolt Brecht, who acknowledged a strong affinity with the Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists, Jonathan Dollimore argues that Shakespeare and his contemporaries, far from adhering obediently "to the tenets of the so-called Elizabethan World Picture" (E. M. W. Tillyard's model of the age's world view having "long been discredited"), were instead subjecting it to a radical critique. As Dollimore reads them, tragedies such as Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, Marston's *Antonio* plays, Greville's *Mustapha*, Jonson's *Sejanus*, Tourneur's *The Revenger's Tragedy*, Chapman's *Bussy d'Ambois*, Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, *King Lear*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Coriolanus*, and Webster's *The White Devil* all illustrate aspects of the religious skepticism, Machiavellian Realpolitik, and protoexistentialist Angst that other historians of the early modern period have found reflected in such authors as Montaigne, Donne, Bacon, and Hobbes.

According to Dollimore, the "radical" tragedies treated in this book explicitly or implicitly question a providentialist reading of history. In the process they undermine the theological basis for any trust in a beneficent and rational Natural Law; they register the Copernican revolution in their acknowledgment that man has been forever removed from his privileged position as the focus of a heaven-secured universe; and they disclose, usually by indirection, dislocation, and aesthetic disharmony rather than by less equivocal means, that a political ideology based on hierarchy and authority is ultimately of human rather than divine ordinance. So interpreted, the major tragedies of the period, and the theater of

which they were a part, emerge as profoundly subversive—undermining rather than underpinning the Tudor-Stuart establishment and foreshadowing the English Revolution of 1640, not to mention such later upheavals as the various Marxist revolutions of the twentieth century.

There are, of course, other ways of reading these plays and of relating them to the philosophical, aesthetic, social, and political uncertainties of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England. Many will find Dollimore's accounts of Marlowe and Webster more persuasive than his accounts of Jonson and Shakespeare. Some will ask how the materialist, at times almost nihilist, world view that Dollimore finds expressed in *King Lear* can be reconciled with Shakespeare's emphasis on providence and even miracle in the festive comedies that preceded the great tragedies and in the tragicomic romances that issued in their wake. And it goes without saying that virtually every critic will query Dollimore's interpretations of particular passages in the plays he chooses to discuss.

Unfortunately, I suspect that most of Dollimore's readers will also find themselves wishing that his book had been written with more grace and lucidity. The author requires us to negotiate a great deal of structuralist and deconstructionist jargon ("foreground" is almost invariably treated as a verb) and abide far more repetition than seems necessary; he also tries our patience with a surprising number of stylistic infelicities and grammatical solecisms. It is regrettable that the book was not more effectively organized, more conscientiously edited, and more carefully proofread, because *Radical Tragedy* is a challenging analysis that is certain to stimulate discussion for years to come.

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HOWARD TOMLINSON, editor. *Before the English Civil War: Essays on Early Stuart Politics and Government*. New York: St. Martin's. 1983. Pp. x, 222. \$25.00.

Historians who do not specialize in seventeenth-century English history may be skeptical of the value of yet another collection of essays on the early Stuart period. This judgment would be wrong. So divergent are the views of early Stuart historians and so fast-moving is the current debate on the origins of the English Civil War that teachers and students of the period are struggling to keep pace with it. This book, which is produced "in the hope that newcomers to the period might be acquainted with the latest research on some of the major topics of early Stuart government" (p. ix), will make their task easier.

Undoubtedly, too, more advanced readers will find much of interest in it.

The first essay by Howard Tomlinson is a splendid summary, not only of the continuing "revisionist" onslaught that was sparked off by G. R. Elton and Conrad Russell about ten years ago and seeks to undermine traditional interpretations of the period before 1642 but also of the "counterrevisionist" backlash that this has provoked. The remaining six essays are contributions to the continuing debate.

Patrick Collinson focuses on the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, which has traditionally been interpreted as a milestone in the history of Elizabethan and early Stuart Puritan opposition to the established church and the monarchy. Collinson demonstrates that this was not the case, since there were not two "sides" at the conference and Puritanism was a "tendency" within the church, not an opposition outside of it. The ecclesiastical history of Elizabethan and Jacobean England was characterized not by conflict but by a "rising tide of consensual evangelical Calvinism," which was only stemmed when Charles I attempted to impose the novel theology of Arminianism on the English church after 1625. This is a view that Collinson developed at greater length in the 1979 Ford Lectures, published as *The Religion of Protestants*.

Russell's essay, "The Nature of Parliaments in Early Stuart England," is also consistent with views that have been elaborated elsewhere, notably, in his *Parliaments and English Politics, 1621–29* (1979). His critique of the interpretation of politics before 1640 as a conflict between king and parliament is as powerful and persuasive as Collinson's demolition of the notion of a Puritan-Anglican struggle in the same period.

Kevin Sharpe's attempt to rescue the personal rule of Charles I from its detractors is less easy to accept without reservations. One would especially like more evidence to substantiate Sharpe's contention that Charles's religious policies, which were a direct challenge to the ecclesiastical consensus described by Collinson, did not disrupt government in the 1630s. Sharpe's essay, however, is to be welcomed as the first sustained, dispassionate reappraisal of the personal rule in its own right rather than as a prelude to the Civil War.

Although the essays by Collinson, Russell, and Sharpe do not ignore the question of why Charles faced great political opposition in 1640, their main thrust is toward explaining that this outcome was not inevitable and that consensus was as important as conflict in the political history of early seventeenth-century England. The remaining three essays do not seek to challenge those assumptions, but they are more directly concerned with explaining the process by which many people became alienated from the early Stuart regime by 1640.

Simon Adams's topic, the pro-Spanish foreign policies of James I and Charles I, is an understudied aspect of the period, and he pieces together the complicated diplomacy of the period to show that, although "Stuart foreign policy was not without its logic and represented one solution to the dilemmas posed by the 30 Years' War . . . it was a solution that offended many of the most engrained of English political attitudes" (p. 101).

Another feature that also led to trouble for the early Stuarts is the theme of David Thomas's important essay to which he gives the unexciting title "Financial and Administrative Developments." He argues that James I's extravagance is only a partial explanation for the financial problems of the early seventeenth century. The root cause lay elsewhere, and the failure to remedy this meant that the long-term future of government was unsure "even without the trouble of the Scots" (p. 122). The final essay in the volume, Anthony Fletcher's "National and Local Awareness in the County Communities," begins with a defense of the concept of "county community" and brushes aside Clive Holmes's attack on it. The main purpose, however, is to suggest that there were many processes at work in the early seventeenth century that produced a more heightened political awareness in English localities than ever before.

It is true, as Tomlinson says in his introduction, that there is as yet no sign of a consensus among "revisionist" and "counterrevisionist" historians of early Stuart England, but it is likely that when one is reached the essays in this volume will have made a significant contribution to it.

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JOHN MORRILL, editor. *Reactions to the English Civil War, 1642-1649*. New York: St. Martin's. 1982. Pp. 257. \$25.00.

The basic problem that this volume of essays sets out to explore is the radical turn that events in England took in late 1648. Accepting the distinction between the "revolutions" of 1641-42 and 1648-49 that Conrad Russell drew in his introduction to an earlier volume in the Problems in Focus series, the editor of the volume under review, John Morrill, has charged its seven other contributors to "provide a context" that renders intelligible regicide and everything that accompanied it. Up to a point, this volume is a success.

As with most of the other works in this excellent series, an extremely helpful introduction places the following essays in context and summarizes recent research in the field. The eight essays themselves,

though inevitably uneven in quality, are useful for scholars in and around the field both as accounts of recent research and as focused discussions of particular problems, ideal for undergraduate teaching.

Broadly, the eight essays that comprise the volume focus on aspects of the impact that the war and parliamentary policy had on local communities. If a single conclusion can be drawn, it is that the war was unexpected and unplanned and that its principal effect at both the national and the local level was to bring out a fundamentally conservative, defensive reaction. As Morrill concludes in his own excellent essay, the reforms attempted by Parliament in the 1640s and 1650s were "negative, sterile" (p. 116); they were also ultimately unsuccessful in winning the loyalty of a society in which "positive commitment to old values and practices" (p. 108) was widespread and was to prove to be a crucial factor in bringing about the religious Restoration of 1660-62.

Nevertheless, although providing stimulating approaches to a variety of issues in the religious and political history of England in the 1640s, especially at the local level, the volume's ultimate goal is not reached. The principal conclusion concerning the lack of revolutionary commitment in England throughout the 1640s makes the radicalism of late 1648 less, not more, comprehensible. In this reviewer's opinion, the reason is the tension, if not downright contradiction, between Morrill's belief in the importance of religious radicalism in both 1641-42 and 1648-49 and the skepticism of most, if not all, of the contributors on that score.

In the introduction Morrill seems to be in no doubt that the "Parliamentarian activists of the 1640s," who "made the launching of the Parliamentary war effort possible" (p. 16), were "advanced Protestants" (or Puritans) concerned with "building a New Jerusalem, cleansing the political, legal, ecclesiastical and education institutions of their corruptions and building a more godly society" (p. 15). It was thus not simply "obsessive anti-Catholicism" (p. 15) that characterized the religious sentiments of the parliamentarians in 1642 but something much more pointed, specifically radical, and difficult to locate. Similarly, when, in his introduction, Morrill reaches events in late 1648, he seems just as convinced that against the "great majority of all social groups"—including most of the 1642 parliamentarians—which favored some kind of continued negotiation with the king stood a "small minority" for which the Civil War had been a "liberating experience" that permitted them "to plan the building of a New Jerusalem" (p. 26). As evidence for this point of view, Morrill cites Mark Kishlansky's contribution to this volume. Yet, when one turns to Kishlansky's article on ideology in the New Model Army of 1645-49 (the locus, one assumes, of at least an

element of Morrill's godly persuasion in the late 1640s), only one brief paragraph mentions religion. Furthermore, Kishlansky's conclusion that "religion does not appear to have held pride of place with the three fundamental (political and secular) components of the Army's beliefs" (p. 182) scarcely supports Morrill's hypothesis. One or the other of these scholars may be right, but not both. One could cite Richard Tuck's subtle study of the constitutional ideas of John Selden or Robert Ashton's account of the development of "Roundhead tyranny" to make the same point.

A second helpful, overall concept that informs the volume is Morrill's description of the collapse of authority as "the mental shock which the very fact of a civil war creates" (p. 16). This may help explain developments in the second half of the decade. Using English reactions to the trauma of Civil War instead of loose and tired old ideas like "Puritanism," "advanced Protestantism," and "radicalism," historians may find a more useful component in this explanation for the "revolution of 1648."

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J. E. MCGUIRE and MARTIN TAMNY. *Certain Philosophical Questions: Newton's Trinity Notebook*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. xii, 519. \$84.50.

In 1661, soon after reaching Cambridge to begin his university education, eighteen-year-old Isaac Newton began to keep notes on his reading and studies in a small notebook. The first dozen folios contain notes or extracts in Greek from Aristotle's *Organon* and are followed by Latin notes on Johannes Magirus's textbook of peripatetic physics, astronomical notes in English, other notes in Latin and in Greek, and comments in English on Descartes. But the bulk of the notebook (folios 87–137) is filled with notes in English, under Newton's Latin title, *Questiones quaedam Philosophiae*. Newton began by writing thirty-seven headings, including "Of the First Matter," "Of Atoms," "Of a Vacuum," "Of the Celestial Matter and Orbs," "Of Reflection, Undulation, and Refraction," "Of Species Visible," "Of Memory," "Of the Creation," and "Of the Soul." J. E. McGuire and Martin Tamny group the entries under these topics and the notes on Descartes into periods starting in early 1664 and ending in late 1665.

Obviously, this is a primary document in the intellectual development of Isaac Newton, a record of the questions relating to natural philosophy that he thought worth considering. His discussions are not purely speculative but are replete with empirical observations, including experiments to be performed and accounts of experimental results (notably, in chemistry and in optics). For example,

Newton asks, "Why are coals black & ashes white?" "Why doth the sound of a Bell quiver or shake like a man's voyce?"

These texts are printed so that on one page is a transcription of Newton's entries and on the facing page a modernized version. In the latter Newton's "&" becomes "and," "decreaseth" becomes "decreases," "Sunne" becomes "Sun," "fantasie" becomes "fantasy," and so on. Furthermore, Newton's British spellings are Americanized, but the subhead "Quare" is not translated. I would have preferred to have a transcription of the original version with its own spellings and with the abbreviations expanded (as any printer or editor in Newton's day would have done), plus notes to explain difficult expressions.

The editors have provided a glossary as well, in which they define such obscure terms as "drawke" (to saturate with moisture), "conarion" (the pineal gland), and "yellow orpiment" (trisulfide of arsenic). But was it really necessary to gloss "comprehending" (including or containing), "camphor," "lampblack," the constellations "Cassiopeia" and "Fishes," "white salt" (common salt, sodium chloride), "pellucid," the stars "Sirius" and "Shedir" or "Schedir," and "oil of vitriol"?

To these 160 pages of double texts, the editors have added 325 pages of commentary, approximately 4 such pages to each page of Newton's. Here, essentially, is a series of monographs on such topics as the Cartesian influence on Newton, physiology, and Hobbesian epistemology; the origin of Newton's optical thought; and Newton's early thoughts on gravity, cohesion, and adhesion. The discussion of "Infinity, Indivisibilism, and the Void" (some 100 pages) is a major work that could have been published on its own.

These valuable commentaries form a major contribution to Newton scholarship and to the intellectual history of the seventeenth century. They re-create for us the thinking of the young Newton, set against the intellectual climate of his age. Here is an indispensable guide to the beginnings of Newton's scientific thought, including an evaluation of his major sources: Descartes, Boyle, Torricelli, More, and Glanvill. There is hardly any aspect of Newton's later scientific career that is not related to the topics discussed in these *questiones* and for which McGuire and Tamny have not provided essential information and valuable insights. It is a real pity that this important work is so expensive that it cannot be in the hands of all students of this period.

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PHILIP LAWSON. *George Grenville: A Political Life*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1984. Pp. vi, 309. \$34.95.

George Grenville was one of the central political figures of eighteenth-century Britain. Entering the House of Commons in 1741, he alternated between opposition and office until his death in 1770. At various times he served on the Admiralty Board and the Treasury Board and as leader of the House. From the spring of 1763 until the summer of 1765 he was the king's first minister. Although Philip Lawson confines himself to Grenville's political career, he wisely does not divorce personality from politics. He traces the deepening of Grenville's character as age and reputation transformed the politician into the statesman. Overcoming an early timidity and modesty, Grenville became a forceful leader; though not always loyal himself, he won loyalty from his followers; eschewing the theatrical, he built his parliamentary reputation on his businesslike demeanor, his grasp of detail, and his capacity for lucid exposition. From our distance we can see that his affinities were with the nineteenth rather than the seventeenth century.

This book has many strengths. Charting a course between hagiography and muckraking, Lawson exercises an admirable impartiality. With sober understatement he corrects the errant evaluations of the past. Although Sir Lewis Namier's short biography of Grenville in *The History of Parliament* (1964) is Lawson's chief target in this campaign of revision, the manner of presentation—documentary evidence supported by compact argument—is one Namier would have applauded. Lawson's analyses of the crisis over general warrants and of the nature of Grenville's American policy are crisp, concise, and exemplary. His examination of the Grenville party that emerged in 1765 adds significantly to our understanding of the politics of the most politically disordered decade of the century. His speculative explanation for Grenville's alienation from George III—an alienation that occurred despite the considerable congruence between the views of the two men—is at once unprovable and yet plausible.

Nevertheless, this is a flawed study. Lawson's grasp of international matters, whether in their diplomatic or their domestic ramifications, is uncertain. He mistakenly places British troops in Europe in 1741 (p. 7) and, puzzlingly, characterizes Prussia in 1765 as "Britain's old ally" (p. 89). He asserts that parliamentary criticism of a government's foreign policy was politically hazardous in the eighteenth century (p. 83), when it was in fact one of the few tactics that enjoyed at least a modest chance of success. Moreover, because Lawson chooses to ignore administrative activities, he slights Grenville's tenure on the Admiralty Board in the 1740s, even though the board during these years effected the celebrated redefinition of strategy that made the Royal Navy so formidable after 1745. Editorial lapses—and for these Clarendon Press shares

blame—are far too frequent. Ambiguities, sloppy syntax, and usages like "sole criteria" (p. 108) testify to an inattention to detail that exceeds tolerable limits.

Lawson's study is therefore useful, especially in its treatment of politics, but it displays a tendency toward inexactness that Grenville himself would have been among the first to deplore.

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GARETH STEDMAN JONES. *Languages of Class: Studies in English Working Class History, 1832–1982*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. viii, 260. Cloth \$39.50, paper \$11.95.

The heart of this book is a brilliant ninety-page essay called "Rethinking Chartism," in which Gareth Stedman Jones argues three cases. First, Chartism has to be understood as primarily a political movement, defined by the relations of unrepresented people to the state, rather than as a socioeconomic movement defined by class or other underlying identities. Second, the language of the movement, rather than the "objective" characteristics of members, is the key to understanding its specific nature and the timing of its successes and failures. Third, the language and political orientation of Chartism continued radical traditions that saw the lack of political representation and the predominance of corrupt politics and idle wealth as the sources of popular misery; this continuity was largely broken with the demise of Chartism.

Jones does a superb job of restoring the Chartist platform and program to the center of historical concern. He shows effectively that too much attention to economic conditions and the movement's social composition has distracted scholars from the crucial political definition that alone unified Chartism. His focus on language and program, however, overstates the case against sociological concerns. There seems little contradiction between stressing the importance of the political program and attending to the heterogeneity of social identities that helped produce recurrent splits within the movement. Since Jones is arguing against his own prior views, he tends to see attention to social composition as an attempt to reduce language and politics to mere ideology.

But Jones's stress on language is misleading, for the essay is not really about language at all. He is not concerned with grammar, syntax, or other preoccupations of modern linguists but with the vocabulary and content of Chartist political discourse. To discuss terms and their meanings is not to treat language or linguistic context, and, if Jones's arguments actually rested on the claim to analyze languages of class, this misconception would be crucial.

In fact, they do not. The misconception renders Jones's methodological advice suspect without vitiating his historical analysis. He rightly argues that several political vocabularies competed in nineteenth-century England and that the term "class" was significant to many of them. But this does not give us a "linguistic" history different from other sorts of history. Jones's references are rhetorical devices to reinforce his critique of conventional social and economic history, but the critique really rests on an argument for the importance of directly political discourse, not language per se. Jones's treatment of Chartist discourse is not radically dissimilar to the political history that long has been written of elites, and he rejects the implication that this new sort of popular movement requires a more sociological, economic, or Marxist analysis.

Languages of Class also includes an excellent, partly autobiographical introduction; Jones's well-known critique of John Foster's *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution* (1974); a brief critique of studies of "leisure" and their use of the concept of "social control"; a fascinating, if somewhat amorphous, discussion of the changes in working-class culture in the last third of the nineteenth century, when working-class politics became reduced to trade unionism; and a brief, intriguing discussion of the historical roots of the "mess" in which the Labour party currently finds itself. The last essay is interesting especially because it reveals some of the purchase of Jones's approach to nineteenth-century popular or working-class identity-formation on contemporary problems.

The value of the book, though, lies in the remarkable essay on Chartism and its treatment of the late nineteenth century. As Jones writes, "What above all differentiated the Chartist period from the post-1870 period was the general belief that the economic and political order brought into being by the Industrial Revolution was a temporary aberration, soon to be brought to an end" (p. 237). But this shift had much to do with both changes in the political economy of England (and its place in the capitalist world system) and changes (many of which Jones notes) in "social composition," including the occupations and living circumstances of "the people." Jones's studies of culture and political discourse are excellent correctives or complements to sociological or political economic analyses, but not substitutes for them.

CRAIG CALHOUN
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KEITH LAYBOURN and JACK REYNOLDS. *Liberalism and the Rise of Labour, 1890-1918*. New York: St. Martin's or Croom Helm, London. 1984. Pp. 222. \$25.00.

Despite its inclusive title, Keith Laybourn and Jack Reynolds's investigation of the decline of liberalism and the rise of the Labour party is confined to West Yorkshire. Such local studies are useful chiefly to test generalizations on national trends. In this instance the authors' findings range them on the side of those who, like Ross McKibbin, argue that the Labour party, despite its poor showing in parliamentary elections, was making substantial progress against liberalism in the years preceding the First World War and in opposition to those who, like Trevor Wilson, argue that the war was the cause of the demise of a hitherto healthy Liberal party. Curiously, one of the most persuasive presentations of the former interpretation, Henry Pelling's essay in his *Popular Politics and Society in Late Victorian Britain* (1968), fails to appear in the bibliography.

Based on extensive research in the West Yorkshire press and in the records of both the local and national labor organizations, the study demonstrates convincingly that liberalism was decaying in West Yorkshire after 1903. Although Labour victories in parliamentary elections were rare, the party's percentage of the vote rose steadily, and Labour representation on local governmental bodies increased dramatically. These findings are in direct contrast to those of Peter Clarke's *Lancashire and the New Liberalism* (1971), which found the Labour party's growth in that area effectively checked by the reformism of the new liberalism. The authors explain the discrepancy by showing that in Yorkshire, unlike in Lancashire, liberalism remained under the control of local millowners, who were unaffected by the new currents within the Liberal party. Thus, local disputes between laissez-faire liberals and collectivist laborites over such issues as the introduction of school food programs increased the class consciousness of the workers to the benefit of the Labour party. Working-class awareness in Yorkshire was further stimulated, in the authors' view, by a flourishing socialist culture consisting of sports clubs, drama societies, and Sunday schools.

A series of tables display effectively the quantitative evidence on which the authors' conclusions are based. In general, however, the technical quality of the publication is poor. Typographical errors abound, and the index is often unhelpful. This worthwhile contribution to an understanding of the most significant political development of twentieth-century Britain merited more careful production.

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D. P. CROOK. *Benjamin Kidd: Portrait of a Social Darwinist*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1984. Pp. vii, 460. \$54.50.

The publication of Benjamin Kidd's *Social Evolution* (1894), as Greta Jones noted a few years ago, "marks a watershed which separates one tradition of social Darwinism from another" (*Social Darwinism in English Thought* [1980], p. 122). This widely influential book by a hitherto-unknown author stressed the increasing, rather than decreasing, importance of group solidarity in evolutionary development and the vital role played by irrational forces in promoting it in human life and particularly in religion. *Social Evolution* and its successors, *The Control of the Tropics* (1898) and *Principles of Western Civilization* (1902), anointed nonrational collectivism as the true engine of human progress. After Kidd, visions of progress were never again so closely associated with individualism and rationalism as they had been during the Victorian era.

Yet surprisingly little is known about this influential man, and not much more about his thought. D. P. Crook's thorough biography of Kidd has remedied this lack. Crook uncovered a great deal of new information on this obscure civil service clerk, whose first book became a best seller on both sides of the Atlantic and was translated into ten languages; Kidd himself became an intellectual celebrity of the *fin de siècle*. Indeed, Crook gives us perhaps more than we need to know, including minute accounts of Kidd's earnings from his writings and from his private investments, detailed expositions of all his subsequent books and many of his numerous articles, and even often-repetitious accounts of reviews of his books. Greater selectivity not only would have eased the task of the reader but would also have enabled Crook to focus more sharply on his interesting arguments for Kidd's complexity, sensitivity to the intellectual currents of his time, and influence.

Crook demonstrates that Kidd cannot simply be labeled, as he was for a long time, a "conservative Darwinian." Despite his religious enthusiasm, collectivism, and authoritarian tendencies, Kidd always essentially regarded himself a Liberal, and, indeed, Crook's study adds a further dimension to the work of Michael Freeden and Stefan Collini in showing how wide a range of forms late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Liberalism could assume. For Kidd, Liberalism meant above all a commitment to progress and an exaltation of the future over not merely the past but also (and ominously) the present. In this futurism—as in his reconciliation of science and religion, competition and cooperation, democracy and imperialism—Kidd was, as Crook perceptively observes, "attuned to the secret harmonies of the age" (p. 3). Kidd was not an original thinker, but he was an inspired synthesizer who could speak to persons across the entire political spectrum. As such, he serves as an excellent index to the enthusiasms and confusions of turn-of-the-century thought.

And yet, Crook points out, a mirror of an age can also exert a powerful influence on the next age. Gradually forgotten in the West, Kidd's work had a second, and perhaps more important, life elsewhere. His *Principles of Western Civilization* was translated into Chinese, where Mao Zedong's mentor, Liang Qichao, hailed it as "a great light to the future." Liang found in Kidd the revelation of the "law" that "in this movement of evolution there must be the sacrifice of the individual for society, of the present for the future" (p. 178)—a revelation he passed on to Mao. In this way a transitory intellectual celebrity of late Victorian England became an inspiration for the Chinese revolution. Such are the strange paths of historical influence!

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JOHN F. NAYLOR. *A Man and an Institution: Sir Maurice Hankey, the Cabinet Secretariat and the Custody of Cabinet Secrecy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1984. Pp. xi, 419. \$59.50.

Many historians continue to receive works of institutional history as Reichsmarshal Hermann Goering supposedly greeted the word "culture": by reaching for their guns. That would be a great mistake in the case of this fine essay, which has much to tell us both about the evolution of modern British governance and of the remarkable career of a prototypical "insider."

John F. Naylor painstakingly first explains the ritualized concern of twentieth-century British administrations with the maintenance of secrecy. The Official Secrets Acts of 1911 and 1920, based on earlier legislation aimed at combating espionage, evolved into weapons with which to threaten those in public life against revealing what went on within the governments they served. This struggle over the legitimate need for security, on the one hand, and the public's "right to know," on the other, has raged throughout this century; Naylor explains the course of the debate and the evolution of a less restrictive definition of state confidentiality.

Next, Naylor examines the institution of the cabinet secretariat. It requires effort to understand how cabinet business was transacted before the advent of the December 1916 coalition: no minutes, save the premier's letter to the sovereign, were maintained, and no staff ensured communication among the various departments or was responsible for the avalanche of paper created by governments. After the Lloyd Georgian succession, the secretary of the Committee of Imperial Defense, Maurice P. A. Hankey, was chosen to head a new cabinet secretariat, and for the first time in modern history an outsider was admitted to meetings of the govern-

ment and placed in charge of its documents. The secretariat, like Lloyd George's other such innovations, grew out of his impatient desire to meet a desperate need of the hour. "War socialism" passed away until another crisis; the secretariat, now quite irreplaceable, survives to this day.

At the center of this book—just as he was at the center of British political administration for a generation—is the figure of Hankey, that tower of discretion who "probably never said a foolish thing in his life, betrayed a secret, made a tactless remark or [spoke] out of turn" (p. 44). If all trusted Hankey, many distrusted the innovation of the secretariat. The office, however, survived the fall of the coalition, and Hankey remained through Tory, Labour, and National governments until 1938. The reason was always the same: he and the secretariat were indispensable, and they had, in fact, become an institution. The figure of Hankey also serves to unite these earlier themes. Government secrecy became a mania with him; no one worked harder to keep the decision-making process out of the public eye. The use of cabinet papers in the publication of histories or memoirs by former ministers virtually came under Hankey's personal control as government after government came to rely on his advice in such matters. Ironically, his own memoir of the Great War was delayed for many years by his successors, who took up the cause.

Naylor has given us a splendid book. It is exhaustively researched, and its style is at once elegant and clear. It is a natural complement to Captain Stephen Roskill's biography of Hankey, and it is also an interesting contrast to John Turner's excellent *Lloyd George's Secretariat*, the story of a Lloyd Georgian institutional innovation that did not survive.

R. J. Q. ADAMS
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R. C. WHITING. *The View from Cowley: The Impact of Industrialization upon Oxford, 1918–1939*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1983. Pp. vi, 214. \$37.50.

Oxford's rise to prominence as a center of the British motor industry was a by-product of the entrepreneurial success of a local garage owner, William Morris. Morris was moving into motor manufacture before the First World War, but not until the 1920s did he break through into mass production. Creating his own economies of scale in a city without a manufacturing tradition, Morris faced no conflict with established local industries and labor traditions. Thus, Morris Motors could expand comfortably within the eastern Oxford sub-

urb of Cowley, which the company brought into being. Meanwhile, Oxford west of Magdalen Bridge could ignore Cowley if it wished—and it usually did. Nevertheless, Cowley was part of the Oxford parliamentary constituency and returned members to the city council, so some accommodation with the labor movement and the Labour party in traditional Oxford was bound to occur.

R. C. Whiting provides a competent analysis of this gradual symbiosis. His approach, notwithstanding his holistic title, is that of the labor historian. His conclusion that the Cowley community was too new and mobile to sustain labor consciousness outside the factory gates is convincing, but it is not based on an extensive study of social structures. Management-labor relations within the plant are his main focus. He provides an enlightening analysis of the development of labor militancy at Pressed Steel in the 1930s, a period in which Morris workers remained quiescent, and goes on to investigate the influence of this nucleus of combative organization on the Oxford Trades Council and city politics. His comparisons with Coventry and Dagenham confirm that, whether located in an old or a new industrial center, the motor industry generated its own pattern of labor relations between the wars. Oxford politics was by no means transformed by 1939, but, as Whiting points out in a prospective survey, the main changes would come after 1945 when the motor industry started to exercise a much broader influence on British society.

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RICHARD LAMB. *Montgomery in Europe, 1943–1945: Success or Failure?* New York: Franklin Watts. 1983. Pp. 472. \$18.95.

Richard Lamb has written yet another study of Field Marshal Sir Bernard Law Montgomery as a commander in Europe from 1943 to 1945. Assisted by several of Montgomery's closest aides, Lamb has relied extensively on Montgomery's log (if not his diaries), the Alanbrooke Papers, and other archival material in Britain and America, in addition to numerous interviews with British participants in Montgomery's campaigns.

Lamb opens with Montgomery's brilliance and popularity as an organizer and leader of armies in Sicily and Italy in 1943; his failures as a strategist and as an Allied commander under the too acquiescent Sir Harold Alexander are also frankly delineated. Unable to work with the Americans, whom, like Alexander, he despised as soldiers, Montgomery permitted the fame of his African victories to go to his head, and this accentuated the failings of his

often arrogant personality. Beaten to Messina by his rival General George Patton, Montgomery deliberately, in Lamb's opinion, then refused to help the difficult Allied landing at Salerno.

Protected by Sir Alan Brooke, his mentor in London, Montgomery was transferred to Normandy as land commander for the Normandy invasion under a most reluctant General Dwight D. Eisenhower. There Montgomery's greatly strengthened amphibious landings went quite well, apart from *Omaha* and the usual airborne fiasco. Pinned down at Caen by German panzers, Montgomery lost no time in having rows with Eisenhower, General Omar Bradley, and Ike's British deputy and admirer, Sir Arthur Tedder, as well as with the Canadians and Poles.

Unable to adapt his vaunted master plan to trap the Germans in the Falaise pocket, Montgomery was threatened by Winston Churchill, whereupon he most unexpectedly bounded across the Seine to Antwerp in only a few days. Here he extorted a weak priority from a dubious Eisenhower to employ the Allied airborne troops for his ardently desired single British thrust across the Rhine at Arnhem, by-passing the Siegfried Line on the flat road to Berlin.

In Lamb's particularly retrospective criticism, Montgomery did not open up the approaches to Antwerp promptly enough following the failure at Arnhem. Finally, in the Ardennes, Montgomery's tactless demand for permanent control of two American armies resulted in his total estrangement from Eisenhower and Bradley. Indeed, in Lamb's freshest material, Montgomery then tried to kick Ike upstairs so that Alexander would be Eisenhower's working deputy and Monty's only nominal superior, just as in the Mediterranean in 1943.

Lamb's conclusion suggests that Eisenhower's "revenge" (p. 352) for this futile effort resulted in the Americans refusing to allow Montgomery enough U.S. troops to enter Berlin, as Churchill was also urging. Less personal interpretations of fundamental American strategy would stress that by the spring of 1945 the U.S. Army was concerned with Tokyo and aid from the Russians, rather than with Berlin and opposition to them. Nevertheless, Lamb's analysis remains a valuable, if rather too parochially British, contribution to Allied grand strategy in the European Theater of Operations.

TRUMBULL HIGGINS

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ANDREW COX. *Adversary Politics and Land: The Conflict over Land and Property Policy in Post-War Britain*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1984. Pp. vii, 242. \$44.50.

This is a disappointing and unsatisfactory book, particularly so because the topic is of great importance and practically untouched by scholars. From the beginning of this century, land tax groups, farmers' organizations, valuation and development interests, the Trades Union Congress, and the Fabians have produced a great deal of partisan writing on land. Most of it is highly technical and much of it polemical, and the authors were addressing relatively small audiences of informed people. What is needed now is a study of a scholar who is not only acquainted with British tax and rate policies, the techniques of company flotation, and the risks of and profits from land development but who also understands the political history of the land crusade that began in 1909 and the general thrust of British income and estate tax legislation on behalf of real property. This person, alas, has not yet appeared.

This book is not about real politics and the land, about housing legislation and the revival of English farming, or even about planning policy, except in one aspect. It is about the attempt by the left wing of the Labour party (the "interventionist wing" as the author identifies them, without telling who they are) to use the betterment value—which appeared when a landowner received planning permission for development of his property—as a vehicle for getting government control of all British development land. The Labour government tried twice: in the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 and in the Community Land Act of 1975 and the Development Act of 1976. The author is mystified as to why property companies, insurance companies, and large farmers, not to mention ordinary private landowners, resisted these innocent plans. Adversary politics—what the uninitiated would call partisan or pressure group politics, which allows those harmed by government action to protest—eventually destroyed both programs.

All of this is described in stridently left-wing terms but also with a kind of injured bewilderment. After the failure of the act of 1947 the author laments "the lack of radicalism among the working class" and professes himself unable to understand the "weakly developed interventionist attitudes of the civil service" (p. 68). What he does not mention, and perhaps does not know, is that for the first time in history large numbers of British workingmen were buying houses in the 1950s so that by the 1970s well over 60 percent of the nation owned or were buying their dwellings. Tinkering with the property market possessed much less political glamor than it had a generation earlier. Nor does he note that the introduction in Britain by Harold Wilson's government in 1965 of a capital-gains tax made the need for a levy on betterment values less pressing than before.

All in all, there is a kind of frightening earnestness about the Manichean view of policy formation

manifest in this book, the children of light continually frustrated by the children of darkness. To allow a "central state role in land purchase, let alone land development," he declares, something will have to be done about "the problem of subjective political perceptions which impinge on electoral behaviour and directly influence Ministers' views on policy. . . . Britain's electoral system precludes long term policy implementation and needs to be rethought" (p. 101). Presumably, if cowardly cabinet members insist on thinking about votes rather than land nationalization, we must get rid of the votes.

Again, a need exists for a serious study of the history of land planning, development, taxation, and housing, which have kept Britain, with all its problems, the green and pleasant land it largely is. But this is not that book.

BENTLEY BRINKERHOFF GILBERT
University of Illinois,
Chicago

DESMOND BOWEN. *Paul Cardinal Cullen and the Shaping of Modern Irish Catholicism*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan or Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Waterloo, Canada; distributed by Humanities, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1983. Pp. xii, 311. \$17.25.

Paul Cardinal Cullen remains an extremely controversial figure, like Daniel O'Connell and Charles Stewart Parnell with whom Desmond Bowen ranks him. Bowen's first "major biography" (p. 1) relies "almost completely" (p. 300) on the Roman sources, which affects his interpretation of the man. Bowen might profitably have made more use of other material, most notably, the published volumes containing the cardinal's pastoral letters in which he explained himself, with few reservations, to the faithful.

The apparently insoluble problem for students of nineteenth-century Irish history is to see Cullen for what he really was rather than what his many critics have alleged. Bowen is an ecumenically minded Protestant who has written on Ireland from his side of the fence. In his earlier books, *Souperism: Myth or Reality?* (1971) and *The Protestant Crusade in Ireland, 1800-70* (1978), he found the excesses of evangelical Protestantism distasteful. He has tried hard to be fair to Cullen; his conclusions are not new but are widely shared. He judges Cullen from the standpoint of his country today and finds him guilty: "Much of Ireland's tragic . . . sectarian bitterness and warfare . . . has been the result of his striving for Catholic religious and cultural ascendancy" (p. 299). Bowen believes, moreover, that Cullen's decades in Rome made him almost exclusively ultramontane in outlook and that his successful alliance with resurgent Irish nationalism was born of expe-

diency, not conviction: "Whatever patriotism he had brought with him to Rome . . . was vestigial by the time he began his Irish mission, long displaced by the values . . . embraced during his . . . Roman formation" (p. 281).

This is one view of Cullen. Another is that he was what he claimed to be: one of O'Connell's disciples who did not see ultramontanism and nationalism as irreconcilable. Bowen has very little to say about Cullen's O'Connellite sympathies, but these are central to understand his purpose. If Cullen saw little room for the Protestant minority in Irish society, O'Connell said as much in an important letter to him when he was the Irish hierarchy's Roman agent, but Bowen does not fully discuss this (pp. 91-92). Like O'Connell, Cullen worked to overturn the Protestant ascendancy without revolution; for a while in the 1850s and 1860s he practically led constitutional nationalism, resisting the Fenian alternative. Both men dreaded a repetition of the 1798 rising, which they rightly considered a disaster for Catholic Ireland. "It is our duty and our interest . . . to walk in the footsteps of the great Liberator, Daniel O'Connell," Cullen told a political meeting in 1864 (Patrick F. Cardinal Moran, *The Pastoral Letters and Other Writings of Cardinal Cullen* [1882], vol. 2, p. 297). Walking in O'Connell's footsteps meant non-violent agitation and ceaseless pressure to extract concessions from Britain, short of independence, which Britain could not be expected to grant in the last century. It did not mean willing acceptance of the union. As Cullen wrote to Bishop J. J. Lynch of Toronto on May 13, 1864, Britain was always and simply "this wicked empire" (Dublin Diocesan Archives).

E. D. STEELE
University of Leeds

MARY E. DALY. *Dublin: The Deposed Capital; A Social and Economic History, 1860-1914*. Cork: Cork University Press. 1984. Pp. 373. IR£ 21.

Good books that view cities in the context of nineteenth-century social and economic development are surprisingly rare, despite the massive bibliography on industrialization and its urban settings. For the United Kingdom, once the eager reader ventures past London, he or she can find shelves full of hagiographic, largely political urban biographies but only a few richer works that link particular stories to long-run processes of transformation. In this study of late nineteenth-century Dublin Mary E. Daly firmly implants the capital in the post-famine Irish economy. In so doing, she widens our knowledge of urban roles in nonindustrial regions. The too-easy equation of urbanization with industrial growth and relative prosperity is belied by the Irish

case, in which after 1850 rural declines in population produced small increases in the proportion of urbanites on the national level. Indeed, Dublin's modest expansion took place against the backdrop of declining industries and a weak transportation sector.

The consequences of this atypical brand of Western urbanization emerge in Daly's careful analysis of the city's industry and population, where stagnation, structural unemployment, and widespread poverty dominated. The resulting social costs in the form of high mortality, limited social mobility, substandard housing, and inadequate sanitation persisted well into the twentieth century. Daly uses comparisons with other cities in the United Kingdom to highlight the gap between English and Irish urban conditions. To round out her story, she sketches political responses to Dublin's needs. Faced with massive social problems, low revenues, and a minimum of help from Westminster, the Dublin Corporation moved hesitantly to upgrade the city's infrastructure. Since much of the Protestant middle class moved to suburban areas not governed by the corporation, the town council was taken over by Catholic businessmen, notably, grocers and publicans, who were often diverted from town improvement by the siren call of nationalist politics and their own vested interests. Unfortunately for Dublin, the combination of poverty and timidity with nationalist causes retarded municipal reforms and prolonged the high demographic waste of the capital's population. Religious divisions intensified those of class to block efforts for change.

Daly competently orders broad areas of Dublin's social and economic experiences, although the wealth of specific details often submerges more general arguments. Her sense of the city's functions in a regional economy is acute, even if the precise connections to hinterlands and to an urban hierarchy are too often left unspecified. Exploring Dublin's role in an Irish urban system is a task left to others. The book's lack of good maps will prove frustrating to readers unfamiliar with the city, especially since urban space is an important but relatively undeveloped character in the book. The analytic weight of industrial relocation, internal migration, suburbanization, and transportation grows when such changes are tied together visually and their social consequences specified systematically. Daly concentrates on structures rather than institutions, but she unfortunately neglects geography. Nevertheless, she offers a compelling portrait of an important city, one too often ignored by urban historians outside of Ireland.

LYNN HOLLEN LEES
University of Pennsylvania

RICHARD G. KYLE. *The Mind of John Knox*. Lawrence, Kans.: Coronado. 1984. Pp. xiv, 347. \$16.50.

Few modern biographies of John Knox have added to historians' knowledge and understanding of this prominent Scottish reformer. By moving away from a purely biographical study and concentrating instead on Knox's thought, Richard G. Kyle has tried to bring about a new understanding of the motivations that underlay the making and fulfillment of the Scottish Reformation. The conclusions are interesting, if not always as original or as convincing as the author assumes. Unfortunately for Kyle's principal thesis, Knox was not first and foremost a theologian. His main tenet of justification by faith was derived from Calvin and set within the context of predestination. His emphasis on the preaching of the word in the ministration of the only two valid sacraments—baptism and the eucharist—was equally commonplace. His ideas both on the covenant and on sin—he argued that to tolerate sin was itself a sin—were unoriginal as well. On such issues he was not a speculative theologian but tended only to tackle problems when political advantage was to be gained. To this extent Knox cannot be divorced from the controversies that shaped his career. If such points are not entirely overlooked, this study fails satisfactorily to correlate Knox's reaction to the specific problems that arose in certain crises.

In assessing Knox's political thought Kyle comes closer to this pragmatic approach, for in this field as in that of theology the reformer was not essentially a political theorist. Nevertheless, the challenge of an ungodly prince led Knox toward a concept of revolution that could be safely dropped after victory was achieved. If the Bible, especially the Old Testament, was the primary source for Knox's theory of resistance, political motives were evidently more important than scriptural authority in mid-sixteenth-century Scotland. If from time to time Kyle recognizes that Knox, even in his apocalyptic thought, was primarily a man of the present, this conclusion is not consistently followed.

In short, if this volume's strength lies in its analysis of the mind of John Knox, its weakness lies in its historical analysis. To speak of the "presbyterian faith" (p. 8) or to assume that the "Gude and Godlie Ballaties" were well known in the 1540s (p. 101) is as likely as the claim that the Regent Arran sought "unification with England" (p. 247). Such associations demonstrate a basic misunderstanding of sixteenth-century Scottish history. The citation of other "authorities" on the Scottish Reformation does little to assuage this feeling because the author tends, without declaring a *raison d'être*, to select as correct the authority that best suits his thesis. If in consequence the historical background is weak, the general thesis has much to commend it. In this

respect Kyle has succeeded, where many of his contemporaries have failed, in writing an original study that should prove thought-provoking to all students of the Scottish Reformation.

IAN B. COWAN
University of Glasgow

BERNARD ASPINWALL. *Portable Utopia: Glasgow and the United States, 1820–1920*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press. 1984. Pp. xviii, 363. £18.50.

Portable Utopia is more than a continuation of the “common culture” theme explored in Andrew Hook’s *Scotland and America, 1750–1835*. Bernard Aspinwall attempts to discover the most important social, religious, and economic links between Scotland, especially Glasgow, and the United States. Although he begins with the “common culture” theme, Aspinwall quickly shifts to education, the influence of women, “demon drink,” and the civic ideal. To these chapters he provides extensive documentation, a substantial bibliography, and a biographical listing of names. The last will be especially helpful to ethnic historians and genealogists.

The major strengths of the book are the interesting ideas presented and the thesis that one British city, Glasgow, had tremendous influence on the United States. The interesting ideas were shared and did not all originate in Scotland. Many Americans took their ideas and causes to Scotland and found mutual acceptance among the leading Glaswegians of their time. Women’s suffrage, prohibition, and local government were some of the most important issues between 1820 and 1920. There is no doubt that Glasgow was an industrial giant during this period and that the city had perhaps the best municipal tram operation in Europe. It is also important to understand Glasgow’s influence on social and economic development during an era of progressivism and unlimited expansionism. This city provided leadership and inspiration to American cities such as New York, Chicago, Toledo, and Philadelphia at a time when urban growth in these cities demanded change and direction.

Although the book provides an endless sea of names (many of which appear in the biographical listing), it has no overall index. The argument that Glasgow provided the United States with a “portable utopia” is sound as far as it goes, but there are numerous references to Scots not from Glasgow who influenced and made important contributions to the United States. Also, the idea that the connections between Glasgow and the United States were more intense between 1820 and 1920 than between 1720 and 1820 is open to interpretation.

The conclusion is brief but excellent. It not only summarizes the thesis but also clearly shows the end

of the “portable utopia,” with Glasgow suffering from “religious antagonism, class conflict and popular polarisation” (p. 187). Meanwhile, in the United States the consumer revolution and the motor car have separated Americans from their former ideal, Glasgow. This is a valuable book both for scholar and student; it is filled with ideas for further research. Ethnic historians will be able to use the factual information for comparative studies, and genealogists will be able to fill in some important blanks.

CHARLES H. HAWS
Old Dominion University

RAYMOND A. MENTZER, JR. *Heresy Proceedings in Languedoc, 1500–1560*. (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, number 74, part 5.) Philadelphia: The Society. 1984. Pp. 183. \$20.00.

Although religious strife in early modern France has attracted considerable attention, the role that the judiciary played in repressing French Protestantism remains obscure, particularly for the period before the Wars of Religion. We know that most judges were staunch Catholics and that they condemned Protestants to prison and to the stake. But what legal procedures they used in their campaign against heretics and how thoroughly they sought to root out religious heterodoxy are still largely unknown.

Raymond A. Mentzer, Jr.’s study fills this gap in our knowledge, and for this reason it will be welcomed by historians. Drawing on judicial records from archives throughout Languedoc, Mentzer gives a detailed account of the various religious and secular courts that tried Protestants and of the legal procedures used in heresy trials. He delves into the chronology of the judicial campaign against Protestantism and examines the social and geographic origins of over one thousand individuals accused of heresy. And he shows how royal tribunals in France supplanted ecclesiastical courts (the Inquisition in particular) in the pursuit of heresy—a stark contrast to other Catholic lands such as Spain or Italy.

One of the virtues of Mentzer’s book is the light that it sheds on the initial stages of the hunt for heretics. In Toulouse humanists and clerics stood out among the early victims of heresy accusations, and in the 1530s suspicions of “Lutheranism” even touched two Dominican inquisitors who were close to the humanist community. The charges against the two Dominicans helped discredit the Inquisition in Toulouse and completed the royal government’s takeover of heresy cases. It was thus lay judges, not the weakened church hierarchy, that led the campaign against Protestantism in sixteenth-century Languedoc.

Mentzer also furnishes a number of useful insights into the part that reputation and public behavior played in heresy trials. The royal judges who tried heretics ignored theological issues in favor of external acts and signs of Protestantism such as a layman's failure to take communion or a teacher's decision to choose the Epistles of Saint Paul for study. The focus on reputation and external behavior was understandable: a good reputation could easily be verified, and a bad one might involve acts of public scandal that could inflame the populace and thus threaten social unity. And the importance of reputation in turn helps explain some of the anomalies of judicial practice, such as the relatively rare use of torture in heresy cases. If the judges considered heresy to be a "social activity," then it would have been easy to elicit testimony about religious misdeeds, and the judges would have had no need for torture.

Some readers may wish that Mentzer had analyzed the chronology of heresy proceedings more closely, and others may want a fuller explanation of why the courts eschewed the death penalty in most heresy cases. But these are small omissions in what is a fine book. It will profit anyone who studies early modern religion, and its lessons about the peculiarities of the heresy proceedings will protect all of us against naive reliance on judicial records to study the rise and fall of Protestantism in France.

PHILIP T. HOFFMAN
California Institute of Technology

JANINE GARRISSON. *Henry IV*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil. 1984. Pp. 346. 89 fr.

The life and personality of Henry IV, France's first Bourbon king, have long exerted a certain fascination on historians of France. Perhaps this is because Henry could appear alternately guileless and guileful and because he had to overcome so many obstacles to secure the power he wielded so astutely. Janine Garrisson admits being captivated by Henry when in her preface she asks, "Why a new book on Henry IV?" and answers, "Because it will always be necessary to reflect on the phenomenon of Henry."

Garrison's study of Henry's life and times is organized into four chronological periods in which she blends narrative and topical treatment of his career. Part 1, "The Youth of a Prince, 1553-76," recounts the early tribulations of the young Henry, whose profligate father, Antoine de Bourbon, died from battle wounds when his son was nine and whose ambitious mother, Jeanne d'Albret, prepared her son for rule not only of Navarre but also, she hoped, of France. Marriage to Marguerite de Valois, a narrow escape from death during the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day, and flight from forced

residence at Henry III's court in 1576 ended this phase of Henry's life. The second part, "A Prince in Guyenne, 1576-89," describes Henry's political maturation while he confronted the need to play three different and conflicting roles: leader of France's Huguenots, Henry III's governor of Guyenne, and, after 1584, heir to the throne. In "The Genesis of a King, 1589-95" Garrison recounts the heroic but futile campaigns that failed to secure Henry the crown that fortune offered him by Henry III's assassination and the fateful conversion to Catholicism that finally enabled him to rally France to his side. "The King of France, 1595-1610" paints a vivid picture of the aging king, his court, and his ministers while describing the plots Henry repressed, the women he pursued, and the means he used to rebuild royal authority after two generations of civil and foreign war.

Whether it will always be necessary to reflect on the phenomenon of Henry IV will be for future generations of historians to decide. Whether this book was necessary depends on one's answer to the question, "For whom?" Scholars of Henry IV and his times will find little fundamentally new here. It explains nothing to pose rhetorical questions about whether Henry was a Machiavellian prince or a baroque sovereign and then to answer, "Henry is neither one nor the other, he is both at once in so much as the Baroque is essentially the practice or acceptance, which comes to the same thing, of Machiavellism" (p. 338). But, if Garrison's work lacks originality, it does not lack vigor and grace. In the grand tradition of French *vulgarisation* (the works of Pierre de Vassière immediately spring to mind), she uses printed primary and secondary sources to tell an exciting and colorful story with élan. To those not overly familiar with the extensive literature on Henry IV, I recommend it highly.

EDMUND H. DICKERMAN
University of Connecticut

ABEL POITRINEAU. *Remues d'hommes: Essai sur les migrations montagnardes en France aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*. (Collection Historique.) Paris: Aubier Montaigne. 1983. Pp. 325. 98 fr.

Despite the intensive cultivation of grains on the small plots of arable land in the mountainous Auvergne and Pyrenees regions, there was never enough food produced to feed the population and livestock. As a result of these structural shortages, some adaptations occurred in rural society that created a distinct way of life for the mountain family. Men began to migrate seasonally to other regions of France in search of work, and they eventually acquired distinctive skills and a special place in the working population. As chimney

sweeps, masons, construction workers, plank sawyers, combers of hemp, rag collectors, cauldron makers, and peddlars, the part-time mountain farmers developed regular itineraries and became adept at arriving in various parts of the country when there were labor shortages. Wearing distinctive regional clothing and carrying the tools of his trade, the migrant worker earned what Abel Poitrineau brilliantly describes as "double wages." The first was the reduction in food consumption back on the farm; the second, his wages and board as an artisan or laborer.

Groups of villagers made the trek together, stayed in the same inns, and no doubt turned to the same employers year after year. There is also an indication that, returning to help with the harvest and other seasonal chores on their farms, they became disenchanted with mere agrarian and family routines. As adolescents they departed for work elsewhere and continued to do so until illness and age forced them to stay home.

From hospital and prison records Poitrineau reconstructs the harsh working conditions and dangerous social life of these migrants. Accidents were frequent and terribly debilitating, particularly among the construction workers. The huge beams that the sawyers cut into planks would go out of balance and fall on them. The scaffolding used in urban construction was often rickety, despite the increasing heights of city buildings. And these workers were part of that segment of the population that lived in inns, slept in hay mows as they traveled, and spent their nonworking hours in cabarets. These farmer-workers appear in the criminal records, but perhaps not as frequently as individuals from the more criminogenic urban populations.

With their earnings they sought to expand their land through purchase and to marry daughters from families equal to theirs in rank and wealth. The eldest and heir had to pay his brothers and sisters their *légitime*, which could be facilitated by their earnings as artisans. The obsession with increasing their land, tiny field by tiny field; the seasonal migrations; the frequent delays in returning home because of illness; and death in accidents—all suggest that the event described in Natalie Zemon Davis's *Return of Martin Guerre* (1983) could have been a structural occurrence and nightmare in the mountainous areas of France for several centuries prior to the 1860s. No matter how compatible and hard-working, a husband who returned and decided to sell land might have been perceived as an imposter.

Poitrineau has peppered his discussion of the more formal topics of social history with precious details about life among these farm migrants. Like early modern workers everywhere, they were obliged to and wished to carry their earnings with

them in cash, which perhaps prompted dark thoughts of theft in cabarets and also pride of physique in being able to defend one's *pécule* in a fight. Their sense of honor and adventure, Poitrineau suggests, helps explain the favorable reception to service in the Napoleonic armies by workers. Their religious life is glimpsed in the occasional worker confession to a priest (or in a will prepared before a notary) before departing. Rosaries and tiny devotional tracts are listed among the effects of workers killed in accidents.

This fine study not only sheds light on the mountain farmer-workers but also forces us to reject some of the old and terribly simple categories of social history that are the perennial harvest of the historical sociologists.

OREST RANUM

Johns Hopkins University

GÉRARD BÉAUR. *Le marché foncier à la veille de la Révolution: Les mouvements de propriété beaucerons dans les régions de Maintenon et de Janville de 1761 à 1790*. Foreword by PIERRE GOUBERT. (Recherches d'Histoire et de Sciences Sociales, number 9.) Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. 1984. Pp. 359. 170 fr.

The study of land ownership patterns is certainly one of the classic topics in French rural history. But, according to Gérard Béaur, virtually all historians have taken a "static" approach based on the analysis of such sources as fiscal records. The result, he argues, is a "static" picture of ownership at a given point in time. "The dynamic study of property, the study of the land market has never been attempted." By correlating land sales with the general economic climate and the relative strengths of buyers and sellers, the author hopes to demonstrate that "the land market can be an economic indicator of the first order and a revealing measure of the health of society itself, and more importantly, of the groups that compose it" (p. 12). Hence, "an historiographical gap exists and our ambition is to fill it with this dynamic study" (p. 13).

To achieve this, the author pressed into service a new methodology and new sources: the computer analysis of some eight thousand sale contracts drawn from the land registry offices (Centième Denier) of Maintenon and Janville in the Beauce, supplemented with a computer analysis of leases found in the regional registry of notarized contracts (Le Contrôle des Actes) for the years 1761 to 1790. The study falls into three parts: the first covers the land sales themselves, including correlations between the general economic situation, as revealed by grain prices and land transactions, and the frequency, types, and monthly, seasonal, and yearly cycles of

sales; the second section deals with buyers and sellers; and the third examines prices, rentals, and the value of land investments. With lengthy methodological commentary, the text is written as a workbook in statistical analysis and moves incessantly back and forth from 1761 to 1790 as each analytical category is examined one after another. The net result for the reader is a sense of vertigo.

The author's findings confirm long-standing conclusions drawn by earlier historians: land prices almost doubled in this period; the price of rentals rose somewhat less. Rentals for small properties bid up by population pressure were considerably higher per hectare than rentals for large consolidated farms. And land sales peaked in crisis periods such as 1768–70 but fell off when good times returned. In short, this "dynamic" methodology reveals little that the "static" one had not already uncovered.

Moreover, the new methodology leads to a distorted view of the historical record. Most historians dealing with this area have stressed the most striking features of land ownership. The Beauce was one of the most valuable grain farming regions in France and, as such, was a prime area for investment, land consolidation, and capitalist tenant farming. Indeed, by 1760 more than 70 percent of the land belonged to nobles, wealthy urban dwellers of Paris and Orléans, and the church—owners insulated by their wealth from the cyclical movements of the economy and not at all disposed to sell.

The land sales analyzed here never amounted to more than 1 percent of the available land in any year. In the Beauce proper, represented by Janville, sales were particularly listless. The bulk of the transactions occurred in the peripheral valley of the Eure, represented by Maintenon, and consisted of petty sales. In good times the local tenant farmers and vinedressers bought a little bit of land at inflated prices; in bad times they sold at cut rates. Since the lands that came on the market were hardly suitable for building large farms, the inhabitants of the small towns were content to play the role of minor land speculators, buying cheap and selling dear. The sales were, in the author's words, "marginal . . . and the distribution of land ownership changed only slowly and moderately" (p. 335). Perhaps historians using "static" methodologies knew what they were doing.

JAMES L. GOLDSMITH
University of Oklahoma

BERNARD LEPETIT. *Chemins de terre et voies d'eau: Réseaux de transports et organisation de l'espace en France, 1740–1840*. (Recherches d'Histoire et de Sciences Sociales, number 7.) Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. 1984. Pp. 148. 52 fr.

Despite rapid diffusion of methodological innovations in historical studies, distinctive national approaches endure. In writing economic history, for example, Americans are most inclined to incorporate formal economic theory, while French scholars have a long-standing fondness for geography and spatial relationships. This monograph defends that Gallic tradition with distinction. As Bernard Lepetit tells us, he is primarily interested in the urban history of preindustrial France, not the history of transportation. But since, in good *Annales* fashion, the goal is to uncover the underlying structures of preindustrial urban and interurban organization rather than interpret passing events, transportation networks immediately appear as a potential indicator of deep-level realities. Correspondingly, changes in transportation networks should reflect changes in interurban structures and permit testing of the author's hypothesis that the Old Regime lived on in these domains until the coming of railroads.

Detailed examination of relevant source materials—the periodic investigations entrusted to the Corps of Bridges and Roads—shows that officials were generally insensitive to the needs of future researchers. Facing thousands of concrete tasks, the state's engineers usually lost themselves in cartography and technical details. Not until 1824 did the corps oblige with a homogeneous nationwide statistical overview capable of revealing deep structures. Lepetit's resourceful solution of the source problem is to analyze this 1824 survey intensively and then use earlier, less complete surveys to write history backwards.

The 1824 survey gave the length of road in kilometers for each department and broke down totals by status (to maintain, repair, or build) and surface (paved, gravel, or natural condition). Using these figures, Lepetit analyzes departmental differences in transportation densities with a variety of statistical techniques, including factor analysis and graph theory. His first well-supported conclusion is that transportation networks were substantially denser and more interconnected north of a line running from Geneva to Saint-Malo than south of it. Second, strictly regional transportation networks were important, and there was no integrated national framework. Third, working backwards to the 1770s one finds no sharp discontinuities, although twenty years of moderate deterioration from 1789 to 1809 were followed by fifteen years of catching up to regain prerevolutionary levels. A final chapter on water and road transport as a unified system reinforces these conclusions. In short, there was great stability in regional transportation networks and interurban spatial relationships, since the Old Regime patterns persisted well into the nineteenth century.

Lepetit's imaginative investigation makes an important contribution to our knowledge. It complements other studies that also find in the midst of unprecedented political upheaval a remarkable continuity in France's underlying economic structures, broadly conceived. This interpretation is not new, but it has gained fresh and impressive support here.

JOHN P. MCKAY
University of Illinois

MORRIS SLAVIN. *The French Revolution in Miniature: Section Droits-de-l'Homme, 1789-1795*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1984. Pp. xvii, 449. \$55.00.

This study reveals both the value and the pitfalls of intensive local history. Set in the heart of the Marais, the section *Droits-de-l'Homme* succeeded that of *Roi-de-Sicile* after the overthrow of the monarchy in 1792. To know in detail the daily functioning, the conflicts and the upheavals, the debates and the resolutions of a Parisian section, especially one with LaForce Prison within its boundaries, seemed to Morris Slavin a perfect way to view the Revolution as a whole *d'en bas* and to assess the interplay between people and high politics in the course of that great event. This is a political history of the years 1789-95 rooted in a solid understanding of the economic and demographic evolution of the neighborhood and of the larger political realities within which it operated, above all, the workings of the Paris Commune.

Slavin first provides a capsule history of the section and its heroes and heroines as they passed through the key steps of the Revolution and then returns to topical analysis. He examines, in turn, the complications of shortages, provisioning, *la vie chère*, and the *maximum*, as well as the political assemblies and the distressingly low level of participation in them. He then turns to the functioning and composition of the key local institutions: the civic committee, which issued residence and loyalty certificates in a generally professional way; the revolutionary committee, whose work in ferreting out counterrevolutionaries was handled (with notable exceptions) responsibly; the welfare committee, which, with sympathy and compassion, sought to confront the monumental problems of indigence; and the justices of the peace and sectional police commissioners, those arbiters of day-to-day law and order who appeared to function with remarkable professionalism despite the general instability of revolutionary life. Finally, Slavin examines the National Guard, whose cannoners stayed with the Jacobin cause in victory and defeat, and the Popular Society, whose contradictory role he reveals with clarity.

The most important overall impression is the general stability and continuity of personnel in the

section despite changes in central government. The neighborhood was for the most part rather well run; things did not fall apart in crisis. The militants of the section also fomented crises, coordinated *journées*, and engaged in political battles. Some officials fell in the fighting, and some were executed unjustly. Slavin's careful scholarship allows one to see both the rationality and the irrationality of the Terror and the Thermidorian reaction. Above all, Slavin paints a picture of democracy struggling to be born. The passions of the popular will, the crushing of liberty by patriotism, the prejudices toward women, the continuation of social layering—such problems were real. But the *sectionnaires* also proved that democratic institutions could work and that power in the hands of the people was not chaos.

Slavin also shows that the locus of power in the sections rested with lesser professionals, merchants, and master artisans. Although he does not have the evidence of wealth that R. M. Andrews has unearthed, it is nevertheless clear that, socially, leadership in the section lived at the upper end of (or above) the world of the *sans-culottes*. The petite bourgeoisie was, in fact, heading up and down the social ladder during the Revolution (and often because of it); it was a social category undergoing bifurcation. In his numerous minibiographies of these types, Slavin has made an important contribution.

The key disappointment with this book derives from a rather surprising lack of exactly the kind of detail that should illuminate. Royalists and republicans debate in 1792: but what are they saying? The evidence is not there. Time and time again, just when the reader thinks, "Oh, now we're really going to get down to it," the documentation runs dry. This is not Slavin's fault. But local study, to make a full contribution, must locate new detail that reorients our thinking about the larger problem. There is little in this book, as fascinating as it is, that accomplishes this goal.

CHRISTOPHER H. JOHNSON
Wayne State University

GWYNNE LEWIS and COLIN LUCAS, editors. *Beyond the Terror: Essays in French Regional and Social History, 1794-1815*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. xi, 276. \$44.50.

The roster of contributors to this excellent volume reads like a list of current British historians who have published significant works on France from the Terror to Napoleon. The volume is dedicated to Richard Cobb, whose extensive and idiosyncratic writing on the French Revolution has provoked and exasperated the historical profession for several decades. The term "Festschrift" suggests a miscellany—

a glane here, a nearly forgotten essay there—unified by the reputation or memory of a particular scholar. This is no mere Festschrift, but a lively and rich collection of essays.

Martyn Lyons's essay on Cobb, which opens the volume, attempts to relate Cobb's work to three historiographical approaches: Anglo-Saxon empiricism, French Marxism, and the *Annales* school. Although sharing some concerns of each of these, Cobb belongs to none, preferring what Lyons calls an "anti-method" consisting chiefly of an intense sense of place and a focus on individual case histories. But Lyons's essay about Cobb is curiously bland, quite unlike its subject. Some of Cobb's more provocative moments are, regrettably, omitted, such as his piece in the *Times Literary Supplement* contrasting the hospitality and support given historians in France's departmental and municipal archives with the strikes, shortened hours, and surliness in the Archives Nationales and the response of the Directeur General, inviting Monsieur Cobb to quit the Archives Nationales permanently and repair to his habitual watering places in the *quartier*. The exchange captures some of Cobb's style and has been preserved, by now a copy of a copy of a copy. Surely the Xerox Corporation would like to make something of this!

Changes in religious leadership and observance is a major theme in Olwen Hufton's essay, "Reconstruction of the Church, 1796–1801." Hufton emphasizes the extent to which the rebuilding of the church was the work of the laity rather than the clergy, which was diminished in number, aged and enfeebled by exile or concealment, divided by revolutionary oaths and the Constitutional Church. Hufton notes the genesis of nineteenth-century distinctions between female piety and male indifference or hostility. The burst of contrition soon yielded to the institutional arrangements of the Concordat. The church was again open, public, and linked to the state, but some regretted the lost spirit of *la culte chaché*.

"The Politics and Personnel of Social Welfare" sounds like a dry theme, but this essay by Colin Jones was my favorite. After noting the ideology of the early revolutionaries on the subject of social welfare, he turns to the struggles of bureaucrats and administrators to restore the system after 1794. These individuals labored without support from Paris; regulations were designed to husband reduced resources but actually increased administrative costs. Their choices will be familiar to twentieth-century college faculty and administrators: maintenance deferred, nonreplacement of equipment, reduction of staff, massive borrowing, search for sponsored clientele, ancillary fund-raising, late payment of bills, curtailed operations, sale of assets, and repudiation of debts. Some of Jones's adminis-

trators give up and disappear, but more are remarkably resilient in the face of adversity. By the Consulate, the nation was reequipped with a system of thirteen hundred hospitals (as compared with two thousand under the *ancien régime*), the beginnings of specialized facilities in Paris and elsewhere, and a number of specific welfare projects. The system was far from the grand schemes of the early revolutionaries, but certainly more useful to its clients than promises and slogans.

Violence and civil disorder have been favorite themes of Cobb, and it is appropriate that several essays focus on that subject. Alan Forrest's study of conscription and crime in rural France shows that rural France never accepted conscription as a requirement of citizenship. Instead, the unregistered were supported and concealed; even deserters were tolerated, although less happily because they tended to cause theft. Colin Lucas's "Themes in Southern Violence after 9 thermidor" attempts, with limited success, to classify different types of brigandage, peasant disturbances, counterrevolutionary conspiracies, and communal violence. Beneath visitation of *égorgements*, assassinations, and mutilation of victims' bodies, Lucas glimpses a unifying theme. The Jacobins had disturbed the equilibrium of the community with their requisitions and demands for conscripts and their attacks on the church and property. The response was a wave of violence, reasserting the primacy of the local community and its standards and singling out those Jacobins and sympathizers who had violated the traditional rules of social behavior. Finally, Gwynne Lewis's "Political Brigandage and Popular Disaffection in the South-east of France, 1795–1804" focuses on the inception of Catholic royalism. The article identifies both royalism and Catholicism as justifications for the resistance of rural society to the demands of an unwelcome, alien government.

With the exception of inheritance laws and practices, virtually no aspect of rural life is more unclear and puzzling than the gradual disappearance of common rights over property and their replacement by the principle of private property. Peter Jones, in "Common Rights and Agrarian Individualism," contends that the revolutionary period sees a transition from the efforts at enclosure by large landowners to demands for partition by small cultivators. Geoffrey Ellis attempts an ambitious study of the Napoleonic elites in the departments of the Rhine and the Loire. Using lists of imperial nobles and departmental electoral colleges, Ellis concludes that merchant trading wealth suffered during the period, while landed wealth consolidated itself, although sometimes in the hands of new purchasers. The essay yields no sweeping conclusions, but it suggests a promising field for future research.

Beyond the Terror is unusually rich in its appreciation of themes of religion, community standards, violence, resistance to authority, the vitality of old institutions, and the gradual process by which Napoleonic and modern France emerged out of the debris of the Revolution. Richard Cobb can be proud of this volume dedicated to him.

JAMES F. TRAER
Lynchburg College

JOHN E. LESCH. *Science and Medicine in France: The Emergence of Experimental Physiology, 1790–1855*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1984. Pp. viii, 276. \$25.00.

Most traditional accounts of the history of physiology trace a traditional lineage from Xavier Bichat, the physician and anatomist who produced the flawed beginnings of the future science of physiology, through François Magendie to Claude Bernard, the complete physiologist who defiantly declared the autonomy of the new experimental science. John E. Lesch reappraises this evolution of physiological thought in early nineteenth-century France from the standpoint of several institutional and intellectual contexts. The "rise" of French physiology becomes not so much a story of the rejection of sterile system-building and clinical utilitarianism as a story of physicians attaining new knowledge by inquiry into neighboring scientific fields, from exact sciences like physics and chemistry through pharmacy, pharmaceutical chemistry, and toxicology to pathological anatomy and the empirical clinical study.

Appropriately, Magendie's scientific career forms the pivot of Lesch's story, occupying five of the monograph's nine chapters. In the 1810s and 1820s Magendie observed and often engineered dramatic changes in the institutional framework of experimental physiology. The catalyst and principal locus for these changes was the first class of the Institut de France. Lesch argues incisively that our understanding of the eventual success of physiology must rest not on the progressive rejection of the philosophical tenets of vitalism but rather on a succession of disciplinary affinities and tools. According to Lesch's analysis, for example, the separation of the physiology and anatomy sections was achieved partly because the zoologists wanted to distance themselves from the Young Turks of physiology with whom they were institutionally linked within the institute.

Lesch makes similar arguments for the affinities between physiology and other medical and scientific fields in the period between the first and second Napoleons. He provides a deft analysis of the overlapping communities of practitioners of the old speculative physiology, chemistry and physics, phar-

macy, and, most significantly, surgical science. Thus, just as the institute served as the catalyst for the emergence of physiology, Parisian hospitals served as its proving ground. Lesch shows that this interdependence persisted until Bernard began to deemphasize data derived from clinical medicine. Until Bernard, then, findings from the hospital and from the laboratory were entwined so that each found the other both explanatory and confirmatory. Lesch provides numerous examples and fruitfully explores such topics as the role and growth of experimental pharmacology, delineating its links with the new physiology, the old pharmacy, and the emerging study of poisons.

Written in a taut but felicitous style, Lesch's account is not without analytical and substantive weaknesses. In nearly half the book Lesch supplies a *tour d'horizon* of Parisian clinical medicine (especially surgery), the revolutionary reforms of medical education, and the early experimentalism of Bichat. Although Lesch is clearly conversant with the important primary and secondary sources, even a casual perusal of the scholarly apparatus in these early chapters reveals the quintessentially Princetonian provenance of this work, written there during the afterglow of the magisterial *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*. That a single major source can serve as the backbone for the work of a new generation is a commentary on both this monograph and the state of the history of science.

By contrast, Lesch is rather ungenerously neglectful of the recent work of T. Gelfand, D. Weiner, C. Hannaway, and O. Keel. He singles out W. R. Albury only to use that author's work as a foil for revision with respect to Magendie's debt to Bichat. Indeed, I believe that Lesch has substantially misinterpreted both Bichat's career and his physiological ideas. But Lesch shines on the topic of Magendie's and his successors' program of physiology. I therefore recommend the final five chapters of his book to any reader seeking to unravel this early phase in the development of scientific medicine.

RUSSELL C. MAULITZ
University of Pennsylvania

F. W. J. MCCOSH. *Boussingault: Chemist and Agriculturist*. (Chemists and Chemist.) Boston: D. Reidel. 1984. Pp. xv, 280. \$53.50.

When the eminent European chemists of the nineteenth century are listed, the French chemist Jean Baptiste Boussingault (1802–87) is seldom included. F. W. J. McCosh hopes to change what he concedes is the "diminished reputation" of his subject. His impeccably thorough biography of Boussingault, although tending at times to biographical minutiae, convincingly identifies Boussingault as an important

figure in the nineteenth-century agricultural developments that challenged Thomas Malthus's dire warnings about population growth and the food supply.

Like Alexander von Humboldt, his mentor during his early scientific career, Boussingault displayed an interest in a number of disciplines. His lifelong interest in politics—he served briefly in the National Assembly during the Revolution of 1848—was more consistent than his scientific career, which saw him work alternately as an agronomist, research chemist, and metallurgist. His only formal education after age sixteen was in a mining school, and it was his marriage into a wealthy French farming family that led him into a career combining chemistry and agriculture.

McCosh details Boussingault's crop rotational trials on his in-laws' farm (termed the first agricultural experimental station) and his work in his own chemical laboratory in a former monastery bequeathed to him by his father-in-law. Boussingault is portrayed as a key figure in the discovery of the nitrogen cycle—the course of atmospheric nitrogen through soil, plants, and animals. From his field trials he discovered that the nitrogen content of crops far exceeded the amount of nitrogen found naturally in the soil or added by fertilizers. Rejecting many of the theories of the German chemist Justus von Liebig, a pioneer in chemical fertilizers, Boussingault insisted that nitrogen did not enter plants directly from the air. He pointed to possible chemical reactions in the soil as the source of excess nitrogen. But McCosh notes that "the final answers were supplied by others" who eventually identified soil bacteria, which has the ability to "fix" atmospheric nitrogen.

McCosh also details Boussingault's work regarding animal nutrition and goiter, as well as his "brilliant" research on photosynthesis. Although asserting that Boussingault's lack of university training prevented him from becoming a "truly great chemist," McCosh attributes Boussingault's modern obscurity to his having worked in less prestigious areas of chemical research than his French colleagues. Another factor was Boussingault's failure to establish his own research school, as Liebig had done.

This study is based on an impressive number of archival resources. The writing is clear, despite an unusually large number of proofreading errors. Readers not familiar with the history of chemistry may be put off, however, by the author's tendency to delineate biographical details rather than explain the significance of Boussingault's work, particularly for developments outside of science. After all, advances in agricultural chemistry (and mechanization) allowed industrializing countries in the nineteenth century to support populations much larger than they could have with their former agricultural

systems. Overall, however, this book—the first comprehensive account of Boussingault's life and scientific career—is a scholarly and valuable study in the development of applied chemistry.

NILES HOLT
Illinois State University

DIETER BRAUNSTEIN. *Französische Kolonialpolitik, 1830–1852: Expansion, Verwaltung, Wirtschaft, Mission.* (Beiträge zur Kolonial- und Überseegeschichte, number 25.) Wiesbaden: Steiner. 1983. Pp. xiii, 503. DM 78.

In recent years several historical works have described and attempted to explain the extension of the French empire in the late nineteenth century. Much rarer have been the works that have tried in a single volume to interpret the various French activities overseas in the first half of the century. Until the appearance of this work, the standard volume was Christian Schefer's *La France moderne et le problème colonial (1815–1830)* (1907), and no work comprehensively considered the colonial experiences of the subsequent generation. Dieter Braunstein's work fills this important gap.

This book reveals convincingly that important developments in the period 1830–52 laid the groundwork for the dramatic territorial acquisitions, for changes in administrative structures, and for ideological shifts that were to occur during the Second Empire and especially after the first decade of the Third Republic. The conquest of Algeria in 1930 laid the basis for the French North African empire where, for the first time since the *ancien régime*, the government had to face the problems of administering a large, indigenous population with a strong and well-defined culture and existing political and social structures. The various stratagems developed in Algeria were later to be, as Braunstein shows, the basis for administration in West Africa. And some of the military personnel involved in the subjugation of Algeria were, in fact, to participate in the subjugation and administration of other territories.

The various areas the July Monarchy acquired—the islands of Mayotte, Comore, and Tahiti and several enclaves on the west coast of Africa—became the base for further aggrandizement. In those years disparate groups contributed to the formation of a general imperialist ideology: naval captains, missionaries, explorers, local settlers, merchants, and various leftist groups, particularly the Saint-Simonians. The author tends to exaggerate the importance of the financial interests eager to see France acquire imperial outposts. True, some chambers of commerce supported such acquisitions, but most

did not. The government on the whole found it had to mobilize business interests.

The sources Braunstein used may have unduly influenced some of the emphases in this work. Thus, the archival material is exclusively from the Paris ministries. Attention to local archives might have revealed much more about how expansion was a function of local pressures and also how administrative structures and methods were shaped locally. Although the book reveals a fine mastery of the secondary literature published in French, not a single work in English is cited. In the last few years a number of historians publishing in the English language have made valuable contributions to this field. The few that might be cited are Kenneth Perkins's work on the *bureaux arabes*, *Quaids*, *Captains*, and *Colons* (1981); A. T. Sullivan's biography *Thomas-Robert Bugeaud, France, and Algeria* (1983), earlier available as a dissertation; several articles on the problems of the slave trade by Lawrence Jennings; and an article by the French historian Henri Brunschwig on this era that exists only in an English version. Furthermore, to deal with some of the diplomatic entanglements without citing English sources, such as the studies of the Pritchard affair, gives the reader a sense that the research could have been more comprehensive.

Nonetheless, the work is a good review of the major contributions made in the years 1830–52 to the development of France's overseas imperium.

WILLIAM B. COHEN
Indiana University

GÉRARD JACQUEMET. *Belleville au XIX^e siècle: Du faubourg à la ville*. Foreword by ADELIN DAUMARD. Summary in English. (Bibliothèque Générale de l'École des Études en Sciences Sociales.) Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. 1984. Pp. 452. 390 fr.

The objective of Gérard Jacquemet's book is to study the evolution of a small village as it was encompassed, during the course of the nineteenth century and until the First World War, by a neighboring city. At the beginning of the last century Belleville, on the northeastern outskirts of Paris, was a village of approximately twenty-eight hundred inhabitants, most of whom were engaged in agriculture. By 1860, at the time of its official annexation to Paris, Belleville possessed some sixty thousand inhabitants and was, according to the author, "one of the largest towns in the Empire" (p. 25). By then, the population was essentially urban, and some three-quarters were in the working classes (*ouvriers*). By the end of the century, writes Jacquemet, "poverty reigned" (p. 332). In 1908, the twentieth arrondiss-

ement had "the sad privilege of being the poorest in all Paris" (p. 332).

Many aspects of Belleville's development are presented, including the occupational structures of the population, the evolution of building construction, the move from a rural through a commercial to an industrial community, the population growth, immigration, geographic and occupational mobility, political life (especially during the Commune), and the distribution and forms of wealth. Despite the claim to present both quantitative and qualitative evidence (p. 11), this history is essentially quantitative, although some anecdotic material is presented to illustrate the statistical data.

The author states his aims clearly in the introduction: first, "to rediscover the life, if possible on a daily basis, of the human unity that a *quartier* represents" and, second, to make a more general study of "how towns develop and grow" (p. 17).

This second aim is well achieved through the vast statistical evidence produced. The "daily life" of the Bellevillois, however, can often only be gleaned by the reader; only nine pages (pp. 137–45) are, in fact, devoted to a chapter with this title. Oral history, which could have helped fill the gap, is absent. There is also little on the attitudes and mentalities of the Bellevillois or on their relationship with the many foreign immigrants. Photographic evidence is lacking, and no map of Belleville is presented to enable the various street and other references to be readily comprehensible.

As one would expect from a doctoral thesis, the number of sources, both primary and secondary, is practically exhaustive. The book is clearly structured, and short chapters make the detailed statistical data readily digestible. There is an excellent bibliography.

The book basically confirms what one already suspected of Belleville, but confirmation is a valuable role of the historian, and Jacquemet's book does this in a detailed and convincing manner. It is essential reading for those interested in contemporary French social history and represents an important contribution to our knowledge in this field.

COLIN DYER
Queensland University

PIERRE LÉVÊQUE. *Une société provinciale: La Bourgogne sous la monarchie de Juillet*. Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. 1983. Pp. 798. 480 fr.

PIERRE LÉVÊQUE. *Une société en crise: La Bourgogne au milieu du XIX^e siècle, 1846–1852*. Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. 1983. Pp. v, 592. 310 fr.

These two studies together constitute Pierre Lévêque's massive doctoral thesis on Burgundy

from the July Monarchy to the Second Empire. *Une société provinciale* describes the economic, social, political, and cultural condition of the departments of the Côte-d'Or and the Saône-et-Loire from 1846 to 1852. The region, little changed since the Old Regime, stood on the threshold of an economic transformation, albeit a rather uneven one, aided by improved transportation networks: the canals, the major route from Lyon to Dijon, and the Saône, whose navigability had shortly before been enhanced, enabling steamships to carry freight and passengers throughout most of the year (the railroad arrived only in 1851).

Yet Burgundy's economy remained fragile (as evidenced by a decrease in population), partially because of a lack of available capital, despite the increased importance of Chalon as a river port, the beginnings of the metallurgical industry, the revival of the wine industry, and agricultural progress in some areas. The second volume, *Une société en crise*, considers the impact of the economic crisis of 1846–47 and, above all, that of the Second Republic on Burgundy.

Lévêque wants to show how the “political temperament” of the Côte-d'Or and the Saône-et-Loire diverged at mid-century. Whereas both departments had generally supported the Revolution, the ever-popular Napoleon, and the forces of “movement” during the July Monarchy (the victors in the April elections after the February Revolution of 1848), the Côte-d'Or became relatively conservative (“blue” and not monarchist “white”) during the Second Republic, like the neighboring northeast and the Paris basin. But the Saône-et-Loire (whose *chef-lieu*, Mâcon, lies on the southern edge of the department, in the shadow of France's second city) joined the center as well as the radicals of the Midi, who were closely tied to Lyon. Burgundy thus embellished its image as a “*province-carrefour*,” or region of transition. The two economic crises of mid-century played “a revealing role, illuminating the social tensions that had previously remained beneath the surface, apparently not manifested, crystalizing antagonisms on the occasion of the multiple elections by universal suffrage, and thereby creating political temperaments destined to be perpetuated” (*Une société provinciale*, p. v). Lévêque contrasts the more conservative “openfields” found in the Côte-d'Or with the democratic socialists' bocage of parts of the Saône-et-Loire, particularly in the Bresse (in contrast with the counterrevolutionary bocages of the west during the French Revolution). There are few surprises in the resulting electoral geography: the people of the Autun region and the Brionnais followed their clergy; the peasants of the Auxois and Châtillonnais supported the moderates, as in the plain of Dijon; and the overpopulated and indebted Mâconnais, as well as most towns, voted for

the *démoc-socs*. The victory of Louis Napoleon in the presidential election of December 10, 1848, is seen as a great popular victory over the *classe politique*, including the poet Alphonse de Lamartine, whose statue still stands along the Saône in his native Mâcon. But it was also a defeat for democracy. The election of May 1849 demonstrated Burgundy's political evolution in a less ambiguous fashion.

Lévêque's thesis is not a major work of inspiring ideas and stunning originality comparable to those of André-Jean Tudesq, Maurice Agulhon, Michelle Perrot, Alain Corbin, or Yves Lequin. But it is, however tedious, a solid contribution to the literature on nineteenth-century France that does more than simply lead us to check off another region whose archives have been systematically explored. Volume 1, including its very valuable appendixes, offers a compendium of information covering demography, social structure, property ownership, wages and cost of living, literacy (which was relatively high, confirming the stereotype), religious vocations, property ownership, rural land use, electoral results, and so on. The chapters covering intellectual and religious life are particularly good. On the whole, this volume is one of the most detailed studies of any region during the July Monarchy. Lévêque's principal contribution may be his clear demonstration that the longer economic crisis of the Second Republic was much more devastating than that of 1846–47, affecting those social groups and occupations relatively spared by the shorter depression. The crisis, most severe in the Saône-et-Loire, thus took the two departments along different paths: “Much more than by angry acts or violence, both quite rare, or by the action of class, which still lacked organization and tradition, it was by means of a political struggle properly speaking that the aspirations, fears, and grudges, given an exceptional strength by the crisis, were expressed” (*Une société en crise*, p. 192). In this awakening the Saône-et-Loire and the Côte-d'Or parted company.

The story is, it must be said, rather dryly told. The reader is absolutely overwhelmed with extraneous detail. One misses a feeling for the steamy cafés of the wool-capped river workers along the quay in Chalon and the often rambunctious artisans of Mâcon, whose enemies lived across the river in the relatively wide-open, unpoliced, and cheaper market town of St. Laurent during the July Monarchy. St. Laurent, although just across the bridge, is in the Ain, which is not one of Lévêque's two departments. The omission of this sometimes bloody rivalry is minor. But, if that bit of information is not in Lévêque's two volumes, almost everything else concerning the Saône-et-Loire and the Côte-d'Or from 1830 to 1852 is.

JOHN M. MERRIMAN
Yale University

EDWARD BERENSON. *Populist Religion and Left-Wing Politics in France, 1830–1852*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1984. Pp. xxiii, 308. \$35.00.

With this book, Edward Berenson adds to the growing number of works by American historians of France that focus on the dramatic events of 1848 and the political and social conflicts of the Second Republic. Although some of the ground covered by Berenson has been made familiar by the works of Ted Margadant, John Merriman, and William Sewell, *Populist Religion* presents an important and innovative perspective on the democratic-socialist opposition to the presidency of Louis Napoleon.

Berenson's central argument is that the social and cultural gap between the middle-class theorists of socialism and the peasants and artisans of France was bridged by their shared commitment to the moral principles of Christianity. According to Berenson, socialists such as Philippe Buchez, Étienne Cabet, and Louis Blanc were able to appeal to the masses of ordinary Frenchmen because they had a common vision of Jesus Christ as the founder of a religion that advocated equality and justice, principles that seemed to be undermined by the commercial capitalism of the era. On the basis of evidence drawn from socialist tracts, colportage literature, and Parisian and departmental archives, Berenson shows how a democratic-socialist ideology based on religious assumptions was communicated to the countryside in the period following the June Days of 1848. More than previous historians, Berenson shows the extent to which the democratic socialists were able to create national organizations, one of which (*La Solidarité républicaine*), he believes, "may well be France's first political party" (p. 87).

Some of Berenson's most intriguing evidence is presented in his analysis of the techniques used by the democratic socialists to circumvent government suppression. Restrictions on the distribution of colportage literature were sidestepped by relying on sympathetic insurance agents and railroad workers to distribute propaganda. When their political clubs were closed, some democratic socialists managed to continue meeting as part owners of republican newspapers, which were organized into joint-stock companies that provided "an impeccable commercial alibi" (p. 179). After his detailed treatment of the networks through which the democratic-socialist ideology was channeled, Berenson concludes with a suggestive chapter in which he proposes that French socialism rejected the materialism of orthodox Marxism and remained committed to republican institutions, in part because of the antimaterialist bias and spiritual principles derived from the democratic-socialist ideology that formed during the July Monarchy.

Berenson's argument that populist Christianity provided the basis for an ideology that could unite a variety of different social groups is both original and persuasive. He has avoided the mistake of presuming that religion is inherently conservative and has drawn on a variety of materials to illustrate the religious elements in the democratic-socialist ideology. But in the process of reevaluating the political impact of Christianity, Berenson at times gives us too simple a view of popular religion. Perhaps the problem comes from his failure to distinguish clearly between "populist" and "popular," terms that he uses interchangeably. Although Christianity certainly conveyed and legitimized democratic and socialist ideas for some Frenchmen, Berenson seems willing to ignore those features of popular belief that do not fit as well with his argument or to attribute them exclusively to the clergy and the institutional church. At times a kind of romantic haze covers the peasants, as when Berenson describes popular religious literature as exuding "a joyous spirit that mirrors the festive way in which peasant communities celebrated Catholic holidays" (p. 68). But the anthologies of popular literature edited by Geneviève Bollème and cited by Berenson reveal that there was a darker side to popular religion as well. Fear of hell, purgatory, and the demons who persecuted the damned are prominent themes in this material. Berenson is right to indicate that for many peasants religious rituals "expressed a longing for practical and earthly solutions to everyday concerns" (p. 37), but a concern for health and survival in this world and for salvation in the next are not mutually exclusive.

Another example of Berenson's tendency to oversimplify is his treatment of the relationship between clergy and laity. Berenson correctly notes the importance of quarrels over the control of religious services as contributing to anticlericalism, but he overstates the extent to which the clergy opposed popular superstitions. Many of the clergy, who were increasingly recruited from the peasantry, actively sought to accommodate popular beliefs and practices, as can be seen in the new cults dedicated to the Miraculous Medal, Notre Dame de La Salette, and Notre Dame de Lourdes.

Finally, at times Berenson proposes a shift from religious to political concerns that is too quick and easy. He writes, for example, that "after 1848 lithographs of Catholic saints gave way to lithographs of republican saints. Religious songsheets were replaced by republican songsheets that looked just like their religious predecessors" (p. 152). But religious images and literature did not simply disappear to be replaced by republican surrogates. As anticlerical critics like Paul Parfait acknowledged, devotional literature continued to appear and to sell through the end of the century. Perhaps the men described

by Berenson were no longer drawn to the Sacred Heart and the Virgin, but the same may not be true of their wives.

Berenson's interpretation of popular religiosity needs to be qualified by a more complete and nuanced understanding of the role Christianity played in the lives of ordinary Frenchmen and their relationship to the institutional church. His work is, nevertheless, an illuminating study of how the populist strain within Christianity contributed to the formation of the republican and socialist traditions in France.

THOMAS KSELMAN
University of Notre Dame

JAMES L. OSEN. *Prophet and Peacemaker: The Life of Adolphe Monod*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1984. Pp. viii, 411. Cloth \$27.50, paper \$16.50.

In reading *Le Monde's* recent obituary of Pastor Pierre Bourget, cofounder of *Réforme*, I learned that the *Église réformée de France* is still alive. Judging from textbooks in French history, one might have thought that it had disappeared with the Huguenot exodus, although the influence of the HSP (*haute société protestante*) on politics, industry, banking, and journalism in the Third Republic is not ignored. Not least among the virtues of James L. Osen's study of Adolphe Monod is that it plunges us into the complex history of French Protestantism in the first half of the nineteenth century. Osen makes good use of specialized works by leading scholars like Daniel Robert, Émile Léonard, and Jean Bauberot.

Monod was the greatest French Protestant preacher of his century; he was, however, no Lacordaire. Osen gives an interesting analysis of the Monod religious mafia and its vital role in the battle between liberal and orthodox Protestants over the inerrancy of scripture, salvation through Christ crucified, and church organization. Monod lost interest in rigid orthodoxy as he moved to the camp of the Holy Spirit, a move accompanied by a desire to put faith into action but not in the terms of social reform. He believed that God was a capitalist and that Christian civilization was based on the individual and the family. *The Confession of La Rochelle* (1571) was his rock in the storms of schism and strife, letting him prevail against the Enlightenment corruption of traditionalist Calvinist doctrines. Monod rejected the humanistic Calvinism of his father. Not even Calvinism was immune to the Romantic infection.

This is a straightforward narrative of the career of Monod, from his seminary education in Geneva (1820–24) to his final period as a pastor in Paris (1854–56). Even when stricken with religious

doubts, Monod did more than most pastors who wallowed in the comforts of certainty, as when he established a Protestant church in Naples in 1826–27. But the Mezzogiorno did not tempt his austere soul: "Naples has almost nothing either for the spirit or for the heart. It consumes itself in games" (p. 53). It seems that Monod's libido was trying to blossom at this time—at least this is what we may guess from Osen's prim remarks, unsullied by any Freudian analysis. One of the most interesting parts of the book deals with Monod's career in Lyon, where he failed to impose orthodoxy on the recalcitrant bourgeoisie who ran the church. Sacked by the consistory, whose decision was upheld by the ministry of religious affairs—Georges Cuvier ran the Protestant division at this time—Monod started an independent church without any governmental support.

Between 1836 and 1847 Monod taught at the seminary in Montauban. He was not much of a scholar, but he did write a good deal, including a popular religious dialogue for the conversion of Catholics. Edmond de Pressensé summed up Monod's career as a pedagogue: "His teaching . . . by the severe beauty of form, the clarity of exposition, and the inspiration which animated it, exercised a profound influence on his disciples" (p. 259). He also changed the social scene by having students to tea; suspicious, they left when the pot appeared and later engaged in a mild revolt against the bullying of hated professors. When family connections and friends brought him back to Paris, he "played an active role in the Evangelical alliance," organized in London in 1846 to promote Christian unity. In contrast to his stirring up of hostilities in Lyon, Monod was a peacemaker among squabbling Calvinists in Paris, especially in the General Assembly of 1848. In 1849 he refused to follow his brother Frédéric in the founding of the schismatic *Union des Églises évangéliques de France*, based squarely on an acceptance of the Bible as divinely inspired.

This book is simple in its conceptual structure, basic in its treatment of French history, and unpolished in style. But, because of the importance of the subject, the treatment of some main themes in the history of French Protestantism, and Osen's stolid earnestness, the reader feels after finishing the book much "like a June bride, sore but satisfied" (T. S. Eliot's revision of Auden's famous phrase). The book has charming illustrations, including one of Monod on his deathbed in a Wagnerian pose. Since Monod's talent was most striking in his use of language, it is a pity that the numerous quotations are translated. But, given their Teutonic heritage, American Protestant scholars would be more likely to welcome the Word in German than in French. Osen has been a beaver in the archives and in reading secondary literature. His book should be a

lamp unto the refractory feet of textbook writers who want to journey into the realm of modern French Protestantism.

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K. STEVEN VINCENT. *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and the Rise of French Republican Socialism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1984. Pp. viii, 320. \$39.95.

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon has always been a favorite of non-Marxist critics of capitalism who seek an alternative economic system that would achieve social equality without sacrificing individual liberty and autonomy. Writers on Proudhon tend to divide along partisan lines, usually into Marxist and anti-Marxist camps. Regardless of their sympathies, most portray him as an eccentric and contradictory thinker, who represented the viewpoint of the independent artisan and peasant and helped found the anarchist tradition. In a new departure K. Steven Vincent analyzes Proudhon's life and thought within the context of the republican, labor, and cooperative movements that emerged under the July Monarchy and argues for his significance as a pioneer of reformist socialism.

In an intellectual biography emphasizing the social and cultural context, Vincent displays considerable range and a large capacity for synthesis that tends toward overgeneralization and simplification. The anti-Marxist animus is manifest. In testimony to Proudhon's encyclopedic, if erratic, education Vincent relates his development to such diverse figures as Montesquieu and Rousseau, de Bonald and de Maistre, Marx and Feuerbach, as well as to trends in the socialist and labor movements. Although based entirely on published writings and secondary works, the book is nevertheless the best account in English of Proudhon's early life and thought.

Vincent draws heavily on the work of the Catholic scholar Pierre Hauptmann for Proudhon's formative years. His principal contribution is to show the importance of producers' cooperatives for Proudhon's social program. Like the socialists, Proudhon looked to such associations to transform the capitalist system. Vincent, however, fails to analyze fully the differences between Proudhon's contractual conception of association and the more collectivist practices of the labor movement, differences that contributed to the break-up of the Bank of the People in 1849. The conclusion that Proudhon was a republican socialist because of his support for associations does not follow.

As Vincent concedes, Proudhon was ever the maverick, often working at cross-purposes to other republicans. Proudhon's libertarian conceptions were eccentric in comparison with the dominant

trend in the labor and republican movements, which was, as William Sewell, Jr., Ronald Aminzade, and I myself have shown, essentially collectivist. Although Proudhon perhaps did embrace producers' cooperatives as a panacea in the early 1840s, he always rejected the principle of association, which restricts individual autonomy and initiative, and insisted on preserving their voluntary, contractual, and competitive character. After 1848 he allowed for such associations only in large industry, where an extensive division of labor justified greater social cooperation, but opposed them in those semiartisanal trades where the relative homogeneity of skill and collective spirit made them a feasible alternative.

Proudhon was a "socialist" only in the sense in which he, like so many contemporaries, sought an associationist alternative to capitalism. His regulating principles were more libertarian than socialist. Like the socialists, he sought to end the exploitation of that fluid body of workers, peasants, artisans, and shopkeepers known as the laboring classes, but only by making them independent property holders. If Vincent helps us understand Proudhon as a figure of his age, he gives us little reason to alter Proudhon's image as a founder of libertarian anarchism and a literary representative of the small-property artisan and peasant in the early industrial age.

BERNARD H. MOSS
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BERNARD MÉNAGER. *La vie politique dans le département du Nord de 1851 à 1877*. Volume 1, *L'Empire autoritaire*; volume 2, *L'Empire libéral*; volume 3, *Les débuts de la III^e République*. Lille: Atelier Nationale Reproduction de Thèses, Université Lille III; distributed by Éditions des Beffrois, Dunkerque. 1983. Pp. ix, 423; 425-898; 899-1268, 109. 260 fr. the set.

Bernard Ménager has read and assessed, one must conclude, every political document written between 1851 and 1877 that has been preserved in the departmental archives of the Nord. His dissertation—1268 pages of text, 57 pages of bibliography, and 33 electoral, demographic, fiscal, and scholastic maps—evinces the meticulous intelligence applied in France to regional histories. Such an analysis can prove particularly fruitful for studying periods like the Second Empire during which surveillance was lavished on all the regime's suspected or imagined opponents, and Ménager subjects the functionaries' reports to a scrutiny no less judicious than that they devoted to their worrisome contemporaries.

His observations are fine. He suggests, for example, that a town's political leanings cannot be inferred from election results alone: the most dissi-

dent cities may have been those in which a fractious municipal council had been already disbanded and extra efforts made to get out the progovernment vote. Indeed, he might have done better to call the book an administrative rather than a political life, for he gives a better account of the prefects' and prosecutors' interpretations of local issues than of the deputies' or mayors' sense of what they might accomplish.

Ménager writes with respect for even-handed and informed administration. Objectivity compels him to sustain the earlier, more partisan judgment of Besson, prefect from 1851 to 1857, who was "detested for his sychophancy and his brutality" (vol. 1, p. 124). But, subsequently, the Nord was entrusted to Vallon, an adroit and conciliatory prefect. And so he needed to be, for the Nord, clerical and protectionist, was a department perhaps uniquely apt to turn on the emperor in the 1860s as he moved toward liberal foreign and commercial policies: support for Italian unification with the threats that posed for Pius IX's temporal powers and the extra-parliamentary promulgation of the Cobden-Chevalier commercial treaty with Great Britain.

Vallon undertook damage limitation on several fronts: he and the procurator-general, Pinard, made plain to industrialists that the government would not countenance firings and wage cuts made in anticipation of losses owing to free trade. Both men suspected that employers hoped to provoke violence and embitter the populace against the government on the eve of the general elections of 1863. Vallon was not, however, unsympathetic to the protectionists' plight and agreed to hear their grievances on the condition that they would not support the candidacy of Adolphe Thiers, who was seeking to reenter parliament as part of a Liberal Union determined to curb executive authority. Vallon also interceded to protect critical editors: he convinced his superiors that, had these journalists endorsed *laissez-faire*, parroting the official line on this issue, they would have forfeited their readers' trust, a confidence that often worked to the regime's advantage.

Ménager sometimes overidentifies, I think, with the functionaries responsible for keeping order as Napoleon III toyed with reform. He finds that Vallon afforded significant freedom to the press in all areas except three: anticlericalism, criticism of the government, and formulation of liberal demands (vol. 2, p. 520). What else was there to write about? Nonetheless, Ménager does juxtapose official and editorial accounts of public opinion suggestively. He quotes Pinard, a man of acumen, who became a state councilor and deputy of the department, advising his superiors that the cultivated classes "would be much vexed by any backward step, but they desire forward steps far less eagerly than

those newspapers which pretend to speak in their name" (vol. 2, p. 529).

Indeed, Ménager makes one of his most illuminating points with a simple fact about the press: in the highly conscious and thoroughly organized Catholic department of the Nord, served by 869 regular diocesan clergymen and untold other religious in teaching and charitable orders, there were only 200 subscribers, lay and clerical, to *L'Univers*, Louis Veuillot's perfervidly ultramontane rag (vol. 2, p. 435). Everyone has read enough of Veuillot to form an opinion of him, but whoever thought to find out whether his coreligionists bothered to read him at all?

Ménager concludes that the Nord was a moderate, centrist department: its clericals not romantic royalists, its bonapartists not diehards, and its republicans legalistic, cautious, and inclined to accept even the antiprogressive verdicts of universal suffrage. He has labored long over his materials and wrung significance from them.

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ALLAN MITCHELL. *Victors and Vanquished: The German Influence on Army and Church in France after 1870*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1984. Pp. xvii, 354. \$32.00.

Allan Mitchell continues his studies of the influence of Bismarckian Germany on France, which he began with *The Formation of the French Republic* (1979). He now moves on to military, church, and educational policies that take us to the eve of the Dreyfus affair, and he presents them all as heavily influenced by reference to German models.

Politicians, soldiers and journalists, clericals and anticlericals, educational reformers and "modernizers" of all sorts—all looked to the looming eastern neighbor not with a desire for *revanche* but with the ever-baffled hope of keeping up with its achievements. "Apprehension, not revenge, was the dominant mood" (p. 20).

If Germany furnished the models, the solutions were French: halting, tardy, incomplete, as well as sometimes deliberately *sui generis*. Almost half the text concerns post-1871 attempts at fortification and army reform, which were too often frustrated by demographic inferiority, shortage of noncommissioned officers, an officer corps too numerous and too mediocre for its tasks, instability at the top, and political maneuvers. In the end everything cost more than in Germany and worked less well.

The account is useful but hardly surprising, like the reminder that the nation was not really straining at the leash of militarism. Nor is it entirely strange that military men should focus on the obvious en-

emy. But Mitchell's argument is documented with thoroughness; the details he offers help fill in the political picture of the 1870s; and his frequent reference to the minutes of the *Conseil supérieur de la Guerre* is illuminating. My chief questions would be: What was the military's view of Britain at this time, and what were the views of the navy, which is left out of account?

Discussion of the religious question reveals more novel aspects, because what we tend to treat as an internal problem Mitchell relates to foreign politics, especially to the Kulturkampf across the Rhine. Traditional anticlericalism was provoked by the pro-Vatican policies of the *Ordre Moral* but muffled by reluctance to echo Bismarck's anticlerical politics while these lasted. After 1877 and 1878 progressive opponents of the church were free to act on their principles.

Although Mitchell handles these delicate questions tactfully, his self-imposed limits tend to minimize the exploitative and exasperating features of Vatican politics. Leaving anticlerical prejudice aside, Mitchell's own account of the Vatican's nibbling at the Concordat while the going was good suggests that the papacy asked for what it got. Here too, at any rate, his insistence on the German component of an overdetermined problem introduces a useful reminder of contemporary concerns that are easily lost from sight.

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ROBERT A. NYE. *Crime, Madness, and Politics in Modern France: The Medical Concept of National Decline*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1984. Pp. xv, 367. \$35.00.

A rich literature has developed in recent years about criminality in its broad sociocultural setting, thanks to work in the sociology of deviance and, of course, historical studies inspired by Michel Foucault. Robert A. Nye's book is a welcome addition to this literature because it is a work by a cultural historian rather than by the usual criminologist or social historian. This work of synthesis is based on such sources as crime statistics, proceedings of international congresses, parliamentary debates, and newspapers, as well as secondary works of the past twenty-five years. Using this material, Nye constructs a model of criminal deviance in France from 1870 to 1914 that includes medical, cultural, and class elements. Although he discusses some of the means deemed appropriate for treating the deviants, Nye emphasizes from the outset that he is not studying deviance itself but "the cultural perception of deviance and of the relations between those

perceptions and general trends in politics and French intellectual life" (p. xiii).

This makes the scope of the book very broad. For example, it has no less than six official Library of Congress catalogue subheadings: public opinion, deviant behavior, physicians, degeneration, France, and criminal justice. The framework Nye uses to present the history is a series of issues, debates, and popular fears that reveal the model of deviance. These include the Relegation Law of 1885 requiring vagrants and other "habitual criminals" to be transported to penal colonies, the debate over the concept of innate criminality, popular fear of the "venereal peril" and "apaches" (thugs who roamed the streets of Paris at the turn of the century), and the 1908 debate on the abolition of capital punishment in France.

Nye's thesis is that the medical model of deviance attributed criminal behavior to biological rather than moral causes. Along with this explanation, a theory of "social defense" evolved that justified new measures of isolation and treatment of the redefined deviants and emphasized more their potential threat to society than their guilt or innocence of committing a specific crime. In other words the idea was that punishment should fit the criminal, not the crime. The most original contribution of Nye's book is his analysis of how the medical profession perceived the workings of biology and deviance. It was a complex relationship whose exact definition was made all the more difficult because medicine and especially psychiatry were themselves evolving along with the medical model. Another element further complicating the debate and discussion was the increased public attention to crime and disorder in this new age of mass newspapers, which also saw the bourgeois world of the nineteenth century crumbling and France itself threatened by the new German state to the east. Often the medical men were their own worst enemies, as when their expert testimony helped bring acquittal of murderers by reason of insanity while their new medical model warned the public against the degenerates who walked the streets unrecognized except to expert eyes.

Nye's writing style is complex. The straightforward descriptions of murder trials and mass press coverage of crime in the streets come as welcome respites from his attempts to wrestle the secondary accounts and intricate theories of social deviance into his model. Moreover, the organization of the chapters sometimes requires a jumping back and forth in fields and time that distracts from the author's argument because it requires so much back-filling. Nye's mastery of the diverse subjects, especially the secondary material, and his feel for the complexity of the issues both explain and more than make up for these shortcomings. There is no ques-

tion that he has greatly added to our understanding of the Third Republic as well as to present-day discussions of crime and punishment.

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STEVEN C. HAUSE and ANNE R. KENNEY. *Women's Suffrage and Social Politics in the French Third Republic*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1984. Pp. xx, 381. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$15.00.

In the history of struggles for human rights and in their historiography, the struggles of women—for equality before the law, for access to educational and economic opportunities, for enfranchisement, for all that is prerequisite to individual liberty and self-determination—have been largely neglected. Feminism has often been viewed less as a civil rights movement than as an expression of self-interest by small groups of privileged women demanding their “rights” because they already had everything else. The failure of French women to win the vote in the early twentieth century and the related absence of French names among the foremothers celebrated by contemporary feminists have permitted persistence of the idea, first advanced by turn-of-the-century antisuffragists, that there was among Frenchwomen no real suffrage movement but only a handful of isolated “leaders” without followers.

Chief among the many virtues of this outstanding book is that Steven C. Hause and Anne R. Kenney prove the existence in France of a “large, organized and active women's suffrage movement” (p. 269). It is true that the movement was fragmented, as were most male political movements; true that it was dominated by Paris, as were most male political parties, intellectual schools, and cultural fashions; true that it failed to achieve its objective, as did, among others, the socialist parties of Western Europe. It is, however, untrue that the movement could be dismissed as un-French, antifamily, or insignificant. (By 1914 it counted more members than the French trade unions.) Now, thanks to the exhaustive research of Hause and Kenney in archives and libraries in France as well as in England and the United States and to their comprehensive and clearly presented coverage of the relevant literature, woman suffrage in France can be seen as a whole, as a mosaic whose shifting participants and politics were grounded in the social realities of the Third Republic, with all that signifies of religious, regional, class, and national conflict.

The proponents of woman suffrage in France faced odds that were overwhelming in a political context far more complex than that of their international allies and in a social milieu resolutely hostile

to female individualism. Ultimately, beyond “political geography” (p. 247), “Latin traditions” (p. 262), and even the trauma of World War I and consequent sense that “France [had] more need of children than of electors” (p. 204) lay a tension between individual rights and corporate ideals that required women to place duty above desire and responsibility to others before self-expression. The surprising strength of Catholic suffragism lay in its assumption that women as electors would vote conservatively, “pro-family” as well as prochurch; the hostility of radical republicanism and the ambivalence of socialism reflected an underlying, transparty consensus of concern that emancipated women, by rejection of corporate ideals, would shake up society. And radicals, with the most potential support to offer, also had the most to lose politically. Furthermore, women themselves generally accepted political stability as a good superior to feminist advances. Unremarkable in the wake of a century of revolution, it was a factor that hindered feminist activity and rendered Anglo-American models inapplicable, for in France street demonstrations raised the specter of civil disorder (pp. 26–27) and hanging a prosuffrage poster brought conviction for disturbing the peace (p. 78).

Half a century ago Marc Bloch pointed out that comparative histories may provide perspective essential to the full comprehension of national histories. With the contribution of Hause and Kenney, new comparisons and deeper understandings will be possible. They have drawn suggestive comparisons among the woman suffrage movements of several nations and between the social and political experiences of French women and men. Informative, interesting, and insightful, this is a book that should be read by historians of many nations, not just specialists in French history. It demonstrates both the maturity of women's history and its potential to enhance work in more traditional veins.

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LINDA L. CLARK. *Schooling the Daughters of Marianne: Textbooks and the Socialization of Girls in Modern French Primary Schools*. (SUNY Series on European Social History.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1984. Pp. ix, 224.

In at least two respects, Linda L. Clark's study is broader than its title suggests. First, it reviews the French educational tradition in place since the Revolution and carries the analysis to the present. Second, the tale of textbooks and the socialization of girls unfolds in a deftly sketched context of political, social, and cultural change. In short, the period covered is long enough for one to observe change as

well as continuity, and throughout the discussion the reader confronts general and contradictory social forces that were ultimately responsible for the nature of French textbooks, their ideology concerning women, and the educational environment.

The essential documentary evidence consists of about four hundred textbooks and manuals, which are quoted literally in the text. They are analyzed according to historical period, the number of copies printed and sold, and whether they were intended for girls, boys, or mixed classes and for secular or Catholic schools. In addition, the author draws on much other archival evidence, government documents, and a rich array of secondary literature.

What images of women did the textbooks offer to girls? They varied within a rather narrow and predictable range. Whereas Catholic manuals explained their views in religious terms and republican ones evoked an abstract morality, both stressed the maternal destiny of girls, their passive and nurturing natures, and their ultimate responsibility for the happiness of the family. The originality of Clark's book is not that it overthrows an old thesis about the "feminine mystique" in France but rather that it carefully examines and situates one source of that mystique in its educational and larger social context. Central to the book is the analysis of textbooks, but a fine chapter covering the period 1880–1940 examines, region by region, such factors as religion and cultural tradition, distribution of population, educational certificates earned by girls, and employment. Moral instruction under the Third Republic, Clark writes, already emphasized "devotion to family, country, and work . . . and need not have upset the Pétainistes" (p. 133). Traditional views of women's roles and duties persisted in primary school textbooks until the Fifth Republic, when social changes finally forced the state to make official images and dogma in the schools more congruent with the reality of women's presence in the economy in an ever-wider variety of occupations.

Although literature and influences other than textbooks and the classroom also contributed to the socialization of girls over the past century, an analysis of these extracurricular factors would surely confirm the general pattern that Clark has described. In short, this is a fine analysis of a cultural lag in France of the most painful sort.

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JOHN E. CRAIG. *Scholarship and Nation Building: The Universities of Strasbourg and Alsatian Society, 1870–1939*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1984. Pp. xii, 515. \$30.00.

Most work on the history of European higher education concentrates on the broad institutional and social framework in which universities operate. John E. Craig's book is no exception. It looks at two universities in Strasbourg—one established following the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71, the other following World War I when France regained its lost provinces—in terms of their relationship to the indigenous Alsatian population and their interaction with the quite differently constituted German and French educational and political cultures. Yet the author also assesses the Strasbourg universities as universities, that is, he shifts from the broad institutional and social framework to the more technically determined basis of educational achievement.

In the broad historical picture Alsace was a victim of educational imperialism. This was especially true after 1871, when Germany consciously set out, through the new university, to incorporate the annexed territories. But it was also true of post-World War I French governmental policy, which sought to make the university express *la civilisation française*. Consequently, even the French university aroused local opposition, which was partly religious (Alsatian Catholics disliked the anticlericalism of the French professoriate and the French state) and partly cultural (although Alsatians were Frenchmen, they were also Alsatians, and, accordingly, they resented the relentlessly assimilationist cultural chauvinism of a professoriate largely recruited, like the German one before, from the "interior"). Nonetheless, the German university was clearly a much more alien institution than the French university, which had far fewer problems recruiting Alsatian students than its German predecessor. Basing his analysis on rich primary and secondary sources, Craig explains the conflicts at Strasbourg, both inside and outside of the university, with subtlety and skill. He is especially good at depicting the reaction of national governments to events, since, although governments followed assimilationist policies, they were often more amenable to local pressure than a university community, with its insistence on academic standards and national cultural norms.

In examining the educational achievements of the universities, Craig notes that top scholars were drawn into both schools. The presence of Marc Bloch, Lucien Febvre, and Georges Lefebvre, for example, is to historians an impressive demonstration of Strasbourg's achievement in this respect. But the author attempts no systematic discussion of the scientific work done and, more important, does not really evaluate the universities' community service. By 1914 universities needed to train applied scientists, businessmen, and engineers. Craig mentions that Germans wanted to establish an engineering faculty at Strasbourg before the war, but he does not

explain why the move failed. He looks still less at the French university in this regard. In France the universities did not train engineers or businessmen. This educational void was filled by the *grandes écoles*. Efforts were made, however, to remedy the defect in several French universities after 1900. Craig ignores Strasbourg's place in this technologically oriented educational reform movement.

But these minor quibbles do not detract much from this book, whose excellence is derived from the author's ability to combine description of concrete events with sophisticated historical synthesis and to present both in concise, well-written prose.

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ODETTE HARDY-HÉMERY. *De la croissance à la désindustrialisation: Un siècle dans le Valenciennais*. Paris: Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques. 1984. Pp. 401. 135 fr.

Over the last generation, under the influence of the *Annales* group, French historians exhibited a predilection for voluminous regional studies. Odette Hardy-Hémery's history of the industrial growth and decline of the arrondissement of Valenciennes continues this well-established practice. This book is a much shorter version of her over four-thousand-page doctoral thesis, the product of many years of research in a large number of public and private archives. What distinguishes this study from those of her illustrious predecessors, who focused on early modern history, with forays into the nineteenth century, is her concentration on the twentieth century.

Valenciennes is not a typical arrondissement (if, indeed, there are any "typical" ones). With a population of approximately two hundred sixty thousand (1911), it included the huge coal mines of Anzin, several important iron and steel companies and heavy equipment manufacturers, and smaller enterprises devoted to metalworking, textiles, sugar refining, and faïence. Hardy-Hémery treats in detail the investment and labor policies of Valenciennes's enterprises and the attitudes and aims of the laborers themselves, and she presents an innovative analysis of aggregate real investment since the beginning of the twentieth century.

She distinguishes three periods of heavy investment: the decade immediately preceeding 1914, the 1920s, and after World War II. Periods of stagnation and decline interspersed these periods of growth, which, until the late 1970s, were attributable to wars and depression. According to the author, nothing in the earlier history of Valenciennes foretells the precipitous, and perhaps definitive, indus-

trial decline of the late 1970s. She argues that the decline of the steel industry of Valenciennes was owing not to a lack of investment, technical backwardness, or profitability but to the decision of economic planners to abandon Valenciennes in an era of declining demand for steel to help assure full-capacity production elsewhere.

The labor policies of the large enterprises receive detailed treatment, including discussions of paternalistic endeavors to control labor and wage policy and to increase productivity, especially at Anzin, which faced recruiting problems as the sons of coal miners were increasingly attracted by jobs in the heavy industrial sector. Anzin resorted to foreign laborers; first, nearby Belgians; then Poles, particularly during the interwar period; and, finally, Italians, Spaniards, and Algerians. Foreigners comprised 17 percent of the population of the arrondissement in 1931; Anzin alone employed more than seventy-two hundred Polish miners, 38 percent of its total work force in 1931. There is a full discussion of labor insubordination, strikes, union organizing, and the irritations of the daily work routine and how they contributed to the radicalization of the working class.

The author explores the difficult question of who exercised power in mining and industrial enterprises and how boards of directors and managers were recruited. She examines the varying roles of inheritance, marriage, and technical competence, although these categories are not necessarily exclusive, as well as the role of bankers and the influence of outsiders.

Integrating the history of the arrondissement with larger areas—with the rest of the Nord department, the neighboring department of Pas de Calais, and all of France—Hardy-Hémery makes frequent comparisons, for example, between birth rates and rates of illegitimacy (which she shows were not much different in Valenciennes than in the rest of France, in spite of the picture in Zola's *Germinal*). This is an important and original contribution to the social and economic history of twentieth-century France, a pioneering effort that provides a model for future research. Specialists will want to consult the longer thesis.

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RICHARD ABEL. *French Cinema: The First Wave, 1915–1929*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1984. Pp. xxi, 672. \$75.00.

Richard Abel's book exhibits all the qualities associated with the best tradition in cultural history. Minutely researched, it reconstructs the web of

artistic, sociological, and industrial factors that made the last years of the silent film so exciting in France. Added to this is an exploration of the types and qualities of the films themselves. Abel, in short, is not merely an obsessive researcher but also a schooled and sensitive film viewer who wants the films he discusses to illuminate the era that gave rise to them.

The seriousness of this work is evident in its size and presentation. The book is beautifully printed and illustrated, but some may wonder if fifteen years of films from an interesting but not overwhelming period (think of Weimar or Soviet production in this same era) deserve 530 pages of text and 110 pages of notes, bibliography, filmography, and index. Was Abel's aim to prove by dint of sheer labor that any period of film can be both illuminating and fascinating? In part, yes. But the postwar French situation permits Abel to investigate a less universal theme: the interplay of individual aspiration, social or aesthetic movement, and the hard verities of twentieth-century life. For before 1930, when both the deployment of expensive sound technology and a devastating depression dashed many of its factions, Paris was the site of a battle among vastly different aesthetics. Because the industry was so weak in the twenties, standard filmmakers had to contend with heroic young *artistes* (Gance, L'Herbier, Epstein, Deluc) and established avant-garde artists (Leger, Man Ray, Duchamp). France's greatest filmmakers—Jean Renoir, Marcel Carne, Jean Gremillon, and René Clair—all got their training by moving back and forth among these types of endeavors.

Abel carefully abstains from according individuals too much authority for the direction of the events he chronicles. He first looks in detail at production, distribution, and exhibition and only then turns to the commercial cinema. Genres rather than directors are the focal point, making us wonder what kind of populace craved the serials, bourgeois melodramas, historical reconstructions, colonial dreams, and other dramas France's struggling producers made year after year.

Abel next considers the cinema that has survived: the narrative avant-garde. This strategy of constructing the art cinema as a deviation from the norm, however, is not entirely a formalist gesture, since he is careful to describe the material base that made possible *Napoleon*, *L'Argent*, *The Fall of the House of Usher*, *Entr'acte*, and so many other classics. In his most important section, Abel details what he calls "the alternate cinema network," a loosely related cluster of journals, cine-clubs, criticism, art theaters, museums, and exhibitions that gave the great cinéastes of the period the means to conceive, produce, and exploit their ideas.

The book concludes with a substantial set of film analyses, in which he brings out the key qualities so that the masterworks we all recognize can be seen in the context of an overall flurry of activity, techniques, and themes.

Are these analyses tacked onto the purely "historical" undertaking of the rest of the book? I think not. Owing to the presentation, the films form one large, intricately interwoven body of work or, as the title suggests, one wave, full of crosscurrents.

Although Abel forces us to imagine the dynamic interrelation of various factors, he does not himself make explicit the connections between economic, social, and aesthetic practices. But can style be treated in structural relation with the material aspects of the period that it seeks to represent? Abel deserves our thanks for raising this question to a pitch by providing so thorough an evocation of both the economic and the stylistic "givens" of France in the twenties.

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D. S. BELL and BYRON CRIDDLE. *The French Socialist Party: Resurgence and Victory*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1984. Pp. x, 311. \$29.95.

D. S. Bell and Byron Criddle have provided a useful survey of the comeback of the French Socialist party (PS) from the 1969 elections, in which presidential candidate Gaston Defferre received a mere 5 percent of the vote, to the victory of François Mitterrand in 1981 and the initial experience of the left in power after a hiatus of more than twenty years. The book's thesis follows the theories of Maurice Duverger, who blamed the French electoral system of proportional representation for the Third and Fourth republics' chronic ministerial instability. Bell and Criddle argue that the presidential system of the Fifth Republic left the socialists no choice but to enter into an alliance with the communists, because it polarized the electorate and destroyed the third-force option of a political coalition of the center governing against both left and right. It follows that the French socialists' radical rejection of "social democracy," which clearly separates the PS from its European sister parties, is more apparent than real. Only the presence of a large Communist party on the left obliges the PS to vaunt its radicalism; in essence, the party is social democratic, even if it dares not call itself such, as the policies it has pursued in power since 1981 illustrate. Bell and Criddle therefore express skepticism about the communist role in Mitterrand's government, and the departure of the French Communist party (PCF) from the coalition in July 1984, which occurred

after the book went to press, confirms their view. Discussion of the PS's democratic structure—which, like the old *Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière* of the Third Republic, guarantees proportional representation to *tendances* in the party on its executive organs—buttresses the argument further. Nor do the authors hesitate, in their discussion of the various factions in the PS, to call attention to the opportunistic behavior of the late-blooming socialist Mitterrand, who was no less than eleven times a minister in the Fourth Republic. Finally, the elitist character of the PS is especially well presented here. The authors show that there are workers among the party's supporters but that workers are fewer in number among members and are virtually absent from the leadership, which comes almost entirely from the professional classes, for the most part teachers.

With all this one still wonders whether Bell and Criddle have not fallen victim to the persistent tendency to view the irascible French through Anglo-Saxon eyes: because the authors think ideology is unimportant, they fail to discuss it. Yet one should not judge the PS only by what it does, since its policy declarations won support for the party while in the opposition and presumably still help the party retain its membership. It is easy in retrospect to minimize the importance of the reforms legislated in 1981–82, which vastly increased the importance of the public sector in France and conferred rights on workers that are as yet a long way from working themselves out in practice. Even the turn toward austerity in 1982–83, one suspects, is not so much the result of the PS's having found its true “essence,” a term pragmatic historians perhaps ought to avoid, as a discovery that the structural constraints of contemporary capitalism, domestic and international, limit the margin of maneuver of all governments, no matter what their intention or the size of their majority.

There are also errors that mar the narrative. Blum justified his assumption of power in 1936 in terms of the occupation, not the exercise, of power, by which he meant a temporary measure to block fascism, not a social democratic experiment. The Communist party in 1981 lost one-quarter, not one-third, of its electorate (5 of its 20 percent). The assertion that Marchais was the champion of the liberal line in the Communist party against the hard-liners and was “humiliated” in 1974 by their victory is conjecture and should be labeled as such. Similarly, statements about the PS's reformism uncritically footnote a communist source that was produced for political motives when the PCF concluded that the PS had turned to the right.

These blemishes are occasionally balanced by some acute insights; it is true that the central issue in the socialist-communist break of 1977 was the gov-

ernance of the nationalized enterprises rather than their prospective number. Similarly, the Socialist party platform plank of *autogestion*, or self-management, has foundered on the dilemma of whether it simply means the turning over of the nationalized enterprises to the Communist party. In short, this is a useful, if flawed, contribution to a growing literature in English on recent French politics.

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DAVID E. VASSBERG. *Land and Society in Golden Age Castile*. (Cambridge Iberian and Latin American Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1984. Pp. xvii, 263. \$47.50.

Studies of Spain's early modern social and economic history have proliferated in recent years, but their usual focus has been local, and, however suggestive they are, a vagueness in the larger canvas has remained. By adopting a different vantage point, David E. Vassberg has sharpened the detail. His research for this book took him mainly to the Castilian central archives—the general one at Simancas and the judicial repositories at Valladolid and Granada. This allowed him to view the kingdom as a whole, and for closer focus he made effective use of detailed local studies, both his own and those of other scholars.

To a large extent, this is a study of patterns of landownership and land use in sixteenth-century Castile. Vassberg describes the traditions of communitarianism, which allowed peasants access to common lands for such purposes as cultivation, pasturing, and gathering and permitted them to graze their animals on the stubble of harvested fields regardless of who owned them. He explains the ways peasants secured ownership of arable plots or acquired their use through various rental arrangements. Vassberg also considers the landholding of the privileged groups, who usually divided their holdings into smaller plots let to peasant farmers. He examines the clash between Christian and Muslim methods of agrarian management, the effects of the sixteenth-century change from oxen to mules as the preferred animals for plowing, peasant indebtedness, crop selection and yields, and the expansion of cultivation into grasslands and woodlands.

On one level the book is a compendium because of the full range of topics covered. On another level it offers a series of interpretations for the changes in Castilian rural life in the sixteenth century that helped account for, or even caused, Spain's economic distress in the following century. Vassberg argues that late medieval Castile enjoyed healthy

balances between cultivation and grazing and between private and communal lands. The economic boom of the first three-quarters of the sixteenth century was made possible by the expansion of cultivated fields into communally held pastures and woodlands and a consequent expansion of agricultural production at the expense of other rural pursuits. Although this restricted the peasants' options, it also allowed them and their kingdom to prosper, at least for a while. But, by the last decades of the sixteenth century, harvest failures occurred as marginal lands began to fail, and peasants, heavily taxed and heavily mortgaged for their newly expanded fields, began to lose their lands. Communal lands, which in many cases were irremediably damaged, fell into private hands, and the peasants then had few alternative possibilities for income. Habsburg Spain's prosperity was based on Castile's rural economy, and "when agrarian production flagged, the entire edifice began to crumble" (p. 229).

No one working on rural Castile in the early modern period can afford to ignore Vassberg's exhaustive scholarship and informed interpretations, which have been aided by the practical experience he gained in five years as an independent farmer. With this book Vassberg has put a generation of scholars in his debt.

WILLIAM D. PHILLIPS, JR.
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WILLIAM J. CALLAHAN. *Church, Politics, and Society in Spain, 1750-1874*. (Harvard Historical Monographs, number 73.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1984. Pp. 325.

If you want to know what the transition from Old Regime monarchy to liberal constitutionalism meant, William J. Callahan's book on the Spanish church will tell you more about it than most studies of the bourgeoisie, liberal institutions, or other advancing sectors. He has mined the outpouring of Spanish clerical historians, but to his credit he also deals with topics that they largely overlook: the interaction of church with society, the methods of evangelization and propaganda, and the causes of anticlericalism. To fill the gaps, he has studied the Catholic press of the time, from ephemeral to doctrinal.

The eighteenth-century church was prosperous, integrated with society, and led by educated, able prelates who welcomed royal authority in their efforts to establish clerical discipline and preach a simple inner Christianity. Its income came from the countryside as tithes and rents, but both secular and regular clergy clung to the cities, leaving many rural parishes unattended. The destruction caused by the Napoleonic wars, the dissolution of male religious

orders, the sale of church property by liberal governments, and the state's assumption of the ecclesiastical budget and of the responsibility for charity and education created a very different church. The clergy—poorly trained, intellectually isolated (priests, who had once gone to universities, were now educated in seminaries), frustrated, and paranoid—declined in numbers. The urban base of the church was now a drawback, for anticlericalism and secularism affected the cities, while the clergy lacked contact with the countryside, especially in the south.

Callahan writes with insight, empathy, and remarkable balance. Despite the laments of Catholic historians, he concludes that no nineteenth-century government wished to weaken the Catholic faith in Spain, and none, except the First Republic briefly, considered ending state support for the church. The clergy who fulminated against the corruption of liberal society were not defenders of the Old Regime; they dreamed of "return to an idealized Catholic Spain of the past" (p. 214) and touted apocryphal miracles that had dismayed the enlightened bishops. "The Crown had once used the Church for its own ends, but the Church proposed to turn the tables and manipulate the restored monarchy to create a theocratic society" (p. 103). No government could accept their claims, and their frustration grew.

The crowning irony is that religious practice changed to match the new society. Before 1800 the church had a "social contract with the poor," which it fulfilled through extensive charity, and devotion had been channeled through confraternities that reflected the social hierarchy. Now, however, the resurgence of devotionism was voluntaristic and stressed individual worship and charity. The church's "horror of radical social forces made it a defender of private property and the existing social order in an economic system the clergy fundamentally disliked" (p. 229). The contract with the poor was broken, leaving them open to new collectivist doctrines; "the Church had not the slightest idea of how to proceed other than to lament: 'the popular classes are deaf to religion'" (p. 246). What better demonstration of the profound change that had taken place from top to bottom of society?

I do have some quibbles. The book should end with the perceptive summary of the situation at mid-century entitled "Was Spain Catholic?" (It was, but in a new way, foreshadowing the future.) The last chapter on the revolution of 1868-74 seems an afterthought, trailing off without a conclusion and leaving the reader confused about the lessons of the book. Also, I miss any reference to developments outside Spain. Both liberals and clerics had their eyes on events abroad, but the account reads as though Spain were in a vacuum. These are indeed quibbles. This is an admirable book, and it deserves

an important place in the bibliography on modern Europe.

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LOTTE DOMBERNOWSKY. *Lensbesidderen som amtmænd: Studier i administration af fynske grevskaber og baronier, 1671–1849* [The Fiefholder as Administrator: Studies in the Government of Estates and Baronies in Funen, 1671–1849]. Summary in German. (Administrationshistoriske Studier, number 8.) Copenhagen: Rigsarkivet. 1983. Pp. 525.

With the introduction of absolutism in the 1660s, the Danish monarchy succeeded in dismantling what remained of the medieval fiefs (*len*) and in establishing a uniform system of royal administration in the hands of salaried royal officers, or *amtmænd*. Yet economic difficulties led Christian V to seek added revenues—and to reduce administrative expenses—by creating in 1671 a new type of fief to be held by newly created counts and barons. With the new titles followed the privileges and responsibilities connected with the office of *amtmænd*, although counts and barons could exercise that right only on their own estates. The new fiefs led to a crazy-quilt pattern of administration in which neighboring farms, although in the same parish, could fall under different jurisdictions. Nonetheless, the system of administrative fiefs was not abandoned fully until 1849, when all privileges of nobility were abolished.

Lotte Dombernowsky examines the role played by the new fiefholders as royal administrators, how those functions compared with those filled by the *amtmænd*, and how they changed over the period 1671–1849. Geographically, the study concentrates on the islands of Fyn and Langeland, where eleven of the kingdom's thirty-two new fiefs were located and where some 20 percent of the local rural population lived within the new counties and baronies. Chronologically, a major part of the study deals with the decades between 1780 and 1820, which witnessed significant changes in the scope of royal administration and the beginnings of a trend toward reducing the role of the fiefholders.

The principal findings of this study, though new, are not surprising. Lack of clarity as to the precise nature of their jurisdictional rights, as well as jealousies over the collection of fees for service, led to a series of misunderstandings, rivalries, and jurisdictional struggles between titled fiefholders and *amtmænd*. With time the growing professionalization of the royal administration, the expanding scope of administrative duties into fields of public welfare, and the growing resistance to the idea that a count

or baron could inherit his position as royal administrator all combined to reduce the administrative role of the fiefholders and expand that of the *amtmænd*.

This is a thorough and impressive study that in many ways belies the author's own claim that it is but an "attempt to shed light on a little corner of [Danish] absolutism's local administrative apparatus" (p. 369). In fact, the study devotes chapters to broad areas of local administration such as tax collection, probate procedures, and the broad and diffuse area of maintaining *gute Polizei*. But it is the two remaining chapters that offer the most remarkable surprises, namely, chapter 6 on the administration of public works, local schools, poor relief, and a system of official midwives and chapter 3 on the system of mediation boards for the settlement of private disputes that was initiated in 1795. The latter was designed to "offer the common man the possibility of obtaining justice and having his case handled quickly, cheaply, and in a less formal manner" (pp. 212–13), and it seems to have done just that. These and other glimpses into everyday rural life make this study an important contribution to Danish social history as well as to the history of Danish local administration.

MICHAEL F. METCALF
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KRISTOF GLAMANN AND ERIK OXENBØLL. *Studier i dansk mercantilisme: Omkring tekster af Otto Thott* [Studies in Danish Mercantilism: Essays on the Work of Otto Thott]. (Københavns Universitet, Institut for Økonomisk Historie, number 20.) Copenhagen: Akademisk. 1983. Pp. 243. 200 KR.

ANDERS MONRAD MØLLER. *Frederik den Fjerdes Kommercekollegium og "Kongelige Danske Rigers inderlig Styrke og Magt"* [Frederick IV's College of Commerce and "The Inherent Strength and Power of the Danish Realms"]. (Københavns Universitet, Institut for Økonomisk Historie, number 18.) Copenhagen: Akademisk. 1983. Pp. 239. 213.50 KR.

In the early eighteenth century, some members of the Danish administration analyzed the economic condition of Denmark in memoranda composed for internal governmental consumption. The two books under review are each based on particular memoranda that are closely associated with two successive Colleges of Commerce. In both books the documents are printed in full. They are, however, presented differently. Otto Thott's fairly brief production (forty-six printed pages) of 1735 has long been known to Danish economic historians. Its authorship is undisputed. The principal tasks of Kristof Glamann and Erik Oxenbøll are, therefore, to pro-

vide the reader with a faithful text, to put it into the context of contemporary theory and practice, and to draw together the threads of previous work on it. All this they do well.

The earlier *Kongelige Danske Rigets Inderlig Styrke og Magt*, a work twice the length of Thott's, has, however, been largely ignored in the past. Apparently this is because it begins with a long and largely derivative disquisition on European economic conditions, which conceals its more interesting and original comments on Danish problems. It is also anonymous and undated. Anders Monrad Møller examines the evidence on these issues and argues convincingly that the work should be attributed to Thomas Jørgensen Hørning, secretary to the College of Commerce founded in 1704. Hørning's death in 1713 was partly to blame for the subsequent eclipse of the institution. Internal evidence points to 1709 as the date of the document's composition. That the college itself should also have been largely bypassed by historians is hardly surprising in view of its comparatively short active life, its limited powers, and the consequent paucity of its achievements. Hørning's memorandum also had little practical application in the circumstances, but it is nevertheless worth examination, not only as one of the rare examples of Danish economic literature before the later eighteenth century but also as a reflection of the views of an intelligent and undogmatic official on the character of the Danish economy and its problems on the eve of the country's entry into the Great Northern War.

Thott was a charter member of the Economic and Commerce College set up in 1735. Unlike its ill-fated predecessor, terms of reference for the new college were extremely wide, and it was responsible for a number of major measures aimed at easing the serious contemporary crisis in the Danish economy. The wide-ranging nature of its tasks is reflected in Thott's work, which includes sections on agriculture, industry, and trade. Glamann's introductory essay examines government policy with regard to some of the matters discussed in the work during the reign of Christian VI, an examination that goes considerably beyond purely economic matters into, for example, education and the legal system. Oxenbøll deals with a longer period (up to the 1770s) but on a narrower front, that of industry. He also introduces an edition of Thott's later and much briefer (eight-page) *Betænkning vedrørende rentefoden* [Reflections on the Rate of Interest] of 1754 with an essay on Denmark's financial problems in the eighteenth century. There is a good English summary of Møller's essays but (rather oddly in view of its wider general interest) no such summary for the essays in the other book.

STEWART P. OAKLEY
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CURT EKHOLM. *Balt- och tyskullämningen, 1945–1946: Omständigheter kring interneringen i läger i Sverige och utlämningen till Sovjetunionen av f d tyska krigsdeltagare*. Volume 1, *Ankomsten och interneringen*; volume 2, *Utlämningen och efterspelet* [The Deportation of Baltic and German Military Internees, 1945–46: Circumstances concerning the Internment in Camps in Sweden and the Deportation of Former German Soldiers to the Soviet Union. Volume 1, The Arrival and the Internment; volume 2, The Deportation and the Sequel]. Summary in English. (*Studia Historica Upsaliensia*, number 136; number 137.) Uppsala: Uppsala University; distributed by Almqvist and Wiksell, Stockholm. 1984. Pp. xv, 200; xxviii, 440. 115 KR; 155 KR.

The decision of the Swedish government in June 1945 to hand over to the USSR 146 Baltic nationals, mostly Latvians, who had served in the German military and who had found their way to Sweden during the last days of the war led to one of the most traumatic experiences in modern Swedish life. The Soviets considered such individuals traitors. Sweden had formally recognized the incorporation of the Baltic republics into the USSR. Nevertheless, the occupation of these neutral countries by the Red Army in June 1940 and the circumstances surrounding their loss of independence remained common knowledge in Sweden and provided a ready rationale for the service of Balts in German military units. At the time, this question roused considerable public debate and generated over one hundred thousand petitions to the king. Subsequently, the issue resurfaced from time to time, most notably during the wave of social self-criticism that was in vogue during the late 1960s. Several popular works on the question appeared, and one highly acclaimed account was even made into a film. The two-volume monograph under review, however, is the only in-depth study of the topic based on the extensive archival sources that have recently been opened for research.

Curt Ekholm, who as a young lieutenant in the Swedish army served in an internment camp at the time the drama unfolded, has produced a neatly structured presentation of encyclopedic proportions. Virtually no detail seems to have escaped him that is connected with the internment and handing over not only of the Balts, whose special background raised most of the legal and moral issues connected with the matter, but also of the considerably larger body of Germans who were likewise surrendered. The work is full of detailed lists and tables, summaries of press articles and parliamentary debates, and even diagrams of the internment camps themselves, including the security measures taken to isolate and protect them.

Ekholm analyzes the principal political and diplomatic questions and attempts to explain the rationale of Swedish decision makers. At the outset, none of the political figures involved seem to have had any premonition of the degree to which their response to the Soviet request would become a political issue. The decision could not be implemented immediately because of the USSR's inability to provide the necessary transport. The situation changed as news spread of the drama that had developed in the camps themselves after the government's decision became known. Suicides, self-mutilations, nervous breakdowns, and hunger strikes forced reconsideration of the basic issues. What apparently has not been widely perceived is that the original decision of the government exceeded the Soviet request. In its note the USSR had asked only that those in German uniform who had failed to surrender after the German capitulation be handed over. In view of the practical difficulties in establishing which of the internees had arrived before and which after the German capitulation, a pragmatic decision was made to include in the group of returnees all those who had reached Sweden in May 1945.

The human drama in the camps becomes somewhat lost in the copious detail. The author's running commentary on the criticism of earlier popular work on the question, though of intrinsic merit, also tends to obscure the salient points of the story. His frequent abbreviations add a certain difficulty to reading the work. His approach is primarily one of analysis and investigation rather than one of criticism and evaluation of the measures taken at the time. He does, however, present an overview judgment that the deportation took place because of expediency and constituted a failure to observe Sweden's obligations as a neutral country. Such a conclusion does not basically differ from those of preceding popular works, but the book's basis on such extensive research will no doubt make this the standard study of the question.

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REINO KERO. *Neuvosto-Karjalaa rakentamassa: Pohjois-Amerikan suomalaiset tekniikan tuojina 1930-luvun Neuvosto-Karjalassa* [For the Building of Soviet Karelia: North American Finns as Bearers of Technology to Soviet Karelia during the 1930s]. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, number 122.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen. 1983. Pp. 231.

In the early 1920s some radical Finnish-Americans and -Canadians joined their cultural and ideological kin in the Karelo-Finnish Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. But only after the onset of the Great Depression and the call from Soviet Karelia for

"experienced Finnish lumber-workers and fishermen" did a mass emigration of Finns occur. Before that flow subsided, an estimated six to fifteen thousand persons of Finnish descent quit this continent with the hope of creating a better life there.

Although this episode in Finnish migration history has elicited little scholarly attention in North America, it has not gone unnoticed in Finland, and this book by Reino Kero is but the latest example of that continuing interest in the subject. Although no account can ever be complete without access to the relevant Soviet archives, Kero has written the most comprehensive monograph to date on this migration.

Using the "push-pull" theory of population displacement and movement, Kero first traces the origins of the 1930s exodus to such causes as Soviet Karelia's desire to modernize its economy, the depression in the United States and Canada, and intensive recruitment by Soviet agents and leftist Finnish-American and -Canadian organizations. Next he describes the preparations of those who succumbed to *Karjalan kuume* (Karelian fever). He then discusses their reception in Soviet Karelia, their living and working conditions, and the effect of their technological contributions. Kero underscores the tragedy and folly of Finnish immigration to Soviet Karelia by recounting only the experiences of those immigrants who chose to leave the Soviet Union and return to North America or Finland before the turn of the decade. In sum, this book seems to suggest that the destiny of the Finnish emigrant is to be deceived by or disappointed in his new homeland, because no other country can measure up to the standards of his native Finland.

This work is bound to displease many Finnish-Canadians. The radical left, for example, will find little use for a work that contends that the Finnish Organization of Canada and its newspaper *Vapaus* mounted a deliberate campaign to recruit Finns for Soviet Karelia. Since William Eklund, the former editor of *Vapaus*, has already refuted Kero's earlier allegations, their repetition here will probably be regarded as further proof of Kero's "academic red-baiting." The characterization of the Finnish communities in North America as "fractious" aggregations of working-class Finns who emigrated to fill their pockets smacks of that traditional Finnish prejudice against emigrants as greedy *isänmaan peturit* (traitors to the fatherland).

Given the fact that Kero had to contend with historical traditions outside his expertise, it is hardly surprising that his work should harbor occasional errors. For example, the book misidentifies Canadian Prime Minister W. L. M. King as "W. L. Mackenzie" (p. 25). More serious are the lapses and imprecisions of archival citations, for that needlessly brings into question the quality of Kero's scholar-

ship. The book's most serious shortcoming is its use of the North American continent as a convenient unifying principle to dispense with the need to document the Finnish-American and -Canadian societies as separate historical entities. Consequently, Kero fails to address so fundamental an issue as why the smaller Finnish-Canadian community lost a disproportionately greater number of its members to the "Karelian fever" than did its much larger American complement.

Despite these caveats, this book is required reading for anyone interested in the emigration to Soviet Karelia. Moreover, since this book represents a topical sequel and theoretical continuation of Kero's published doctoral dissertation, it will interest those specializing in other aspects of the Finnish migration to North America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It would be an immense loss to scholarship in this field if, as has been rumored, Kero and his colleagues at the University of Turku are now no longer able to continue their migration studies because of reduced support for the Emigration History Research Project there.

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Public Archives of Canada

ILKKA SEPPINEN. *Suomen ulkomaankaupan ehdot, 1939-1944* [Finnish Foreign Trade Conditions, 1939-44]. Summary in German. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, number 124.) Helsinki: Suomen Historioallinen. 1983. Pp. 268.

This study by Ilkka Seppinen is part of a larger group project dealing with Finland during the Second World War. At the beginning of the war Finland and other northern neutrals cooperated to secure the continuation and freedom of their foreign trade by adhering to a policy of neutrality, but these efforts failed for lack of strength. After the Soviet invasion in the fall of 1939, Finland looked for support anywhere it could get it. Large loans and donations from Sweden and the United States helped finance imports. Seppinen gives little space to the Russo-Finnish Winter War and could have provided far more information on the significant Swedish contribution to the Finnish war effort.

By April 1940 Finland had negotiated a commercial treaty with Britain that seemed to lead it to side with the Allies. But the German occupation of Denmark and Norway cut off connections with Britain, and Germany became the Finns' principal trading partner and support against Soviet pressure.

The trade and political connections with Germany soon became a source of disillusionment. Although the Germans treated Finland better than their other associates because of Finland's contributions to the war against the Russians, the Finns were

dissatisfied. As early as the summer of 1940, Finnish business leaders were apprehensive of German antiliberalism and anticapitalism as well as of German aspirations to autarchy and economic domination. The Finnish political leadership started to doubt Germany's ability to destroy the Soviet Union by late 1941 after the failure of Operation Barbarossa. Yet continuing German military strength and Finnish dependence on German food deliveries long prevented Finland from disengaging itself from the war. Germany also attempted economic blackmail, but this had progressively fewer prospects for success. The necessity of not reducing the Finns' fighting ability put effective limits on German attempts to cut exports to Finland. As Germany weakened militarily, it became increasingly dependent on the Finns' war effort and lost leverage on them. The weakening of Germany together with Swedish pledges partially to replace German deliveries enabled the Finns to conclude an armistice with the Russians and to get out of the war.

Seppinen's study is a carefully documented contribution to the history of the Second World War. It sheds light on the mutual dependencies that can emerge in the relations between a major and a minor power during a crisis, effectively limiting the freedom of action of both.

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HEIKO A. OBERMAN. *Luther: Mensch zwischen Gott und Teufel*. Berlin: Severin und Siedler. 1982. Pp. 380. DM 39.80.

Not a conventionally organized biography, Heiko A. Oberman's work consists of a series of sensitively conceived, lucidly written, and richly detailed essays that shed new light on the central figure of the German Reformation. The work ranges over topics that span Luther's entire life, but, perhaps inevitably, the center of gravity lies with the younger Luther and the course of his career through the 1520s. Regardless of the topic—Luther's childhood or his death, the spirituality of the late Middle Ages or the political implications of Philip of Hesse's bigamous marriage—in virtually every case Oberman's insightful treatment adds depth to our understanding.

The work is organized around three large themes. Part 1, "The Longed-For Reformation," opens with an account of Luther's death and then skillfully delineates the late medieval political and religious context from which he and the Reformation emerged, closing with an analysis of Luther's relations with his parents that stresses the role of his mother and will give psychohistorians cause for reflection. The examination of late scholasticism

masterfully draws together Oberman's important earlier contributions to this subject. Equally well handled is his treatment of such issues as the Observantine movement among the mendicants, including the Augustinians, and their eschatological conception of *reformatio* as a final return to the original purity of their rule.

Part 2, "The Unexpected Reformation," follows Luther's unique intellectual development from 1505 to 1521, with special attention to the emergence of the basic structures of his theology. Oberman wisely avoids viewing Luther's "breakthrough" as a single event or insight and prefers to speak of a series of breakthroughs during his theological maturation. The influence of Staupitz's Augustinianism on this development as well as Luther's openness to Renaissance humanism are convincingly demonstrated. Since Luther's breakthrough is commonly described only in relation to the salvation of the individual soul, Oberman's insistence on the importance of the ecclesiastical dimension is salutary and innovative. Luther was also concerned with the church militant as a suffering community of true believers prepared to undergo martyrdom for their faith. Only in 1523, when Luther heard that two Augustinians from Erfurt had been burned for heresy in Antwerp, did he feel his cause had finally brought forth fruit.

The third part, "The Endangered Reformation," focuses on the conflicts within and the dangers confronting the emergent Reformation movement in the 1520s. The debate with Erasmus and the sacramentarian controversy naturally occupy a large place here. Somewhat disappointing is the lack of attention to the Reformation as a social movement. The Peasants' War, for example, receives scant attention and is approached from the standpoint of Luther's decision to marry as the uprising reached its climax.

The interpretive heart of Oberman's study is one that stresses the importance of grasping the whole Luther by viewing him in his late medieval context and that rejects the liberal, humanistic Protestant interpretation of Luther as amenable to modern rationalism. Accordingly, the work's focal point is Luther's conception of himself, his cause, and his times as locked in an intensifying conflict between God and Satan as the Last Judgment approached. Luther altered the medieval notion of the Devil by giving it a new depth and sharpness; Satan is especially active precisely where Christ is also present. Luther regarded the Devil as a promoter of chaos and anarchy in society, and Oberman concedes the severe limitations of this view when it came to Luther's attitudes toward Jews, rebellious peasants, and papists. But Luther viewed Satan above all as a master of the subjective, especially active in periods of self-examination and introspection. Oberman

brilliantly demonstrates the importance of this idea of Satan as a way of unifying the personal and the theological in Luther. He also shows that, despite the dark side to Luther's diabolic and eschatological convictions, his thought was ultimately life-affirming and asserted both the possibility of earthly betterment and the independence of worldly activities as mankind's proper sphere. It is no accident that the appearance of this work was one of the publishing highlights in Germany of the quincennial celebration of Luther's birth. An English translation will reinforce its important contribution to Reformation studies.

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ARTHUR E. IMHOF. *Die verlorenen Welten: Alltagsbewältigung durch unsere Vorfahren—und weshalb wir uns heute so schwer damit tun.* Munich: C. H. Beck. 1984. Pp. 247. DM 34.

Twenty years ago, Peter Laslett's *The World We Have Lost* stimulated a new preoccupation with the history of daily life. His work led a whole generation of scholars into research aided by computers and guided by theories derived from neighboring disciplines; it also made them more receptive to the works of writers like Philippe Ariès and Michel Foucault. Yet few of Laslett's disciples have emulated his striking appeal to a more general audience. Arthur E. Imhof now aspires to do this once more.

On one level this book is a stimulating critique of the research of the last two decades. Imhof believes that computers have rendered a distorted image of average individuals composed of statistics and little else. Too often, Imhof argues, historians have programmed computers to analyze only what interests us today.

Computers tell us about quantity, frequency, and duration. Imhof, by contrast, is concerned primarily with the quality of life. He elaborates a theme that will be familiar to followers of French fashions. Modern man lives longer at a higher level of prosperity than his forebears; he knows more about his environment; he has shed primitive superstition and embraced sophisticated rationalism. But have these changes actually enhanced the quality of life? Imhof believes emphatically that they have not. On the contrary, he asserts that it is more difficult to live life today than it was several centuries ago.

Imhof arrives at this curious conclusion by means of an attempt to reconstruct the complex world of an ordinary man, Johannes Hooss (1670–1755), a farmer of Leimbach in north Hessen. The first two chapters describe Hooss's life and environment in great detail. Since there are few documentary sources, Imhof relies heavily on his own imagina-

tion, interpolating pictorial evidence and the findings of other scholars dealing with similar problems. The third chapter examines the perennial threat posed to this world by plague, famine, and war. This discussion leads to the most important section of the book, in which Imhof analyzes the way in which preindustrial society constantly sought for stability in a fundamentally unstable world. Here he again explores familiar territory: religion, astrology, household continuity, the elevation of ideas and values rather than individuals. Preindustrial man, Imhof claims, constructed for himself a coherent world view in which life on earth was but a phase (short and insecure) in a longer and grander design conceived by God.

According to Imhof, this relatively secure world was destroyed by the prolongation of the average life span and by the decline of religious belief. He argues that modern man, living in an anxiety-laden vacuum, is knowledgeable but no longer wise, long-lived yet cast adrift in an alienating environment. Imhof's conclusions underline the fact that his book is intended primarily as a tract for the times. It is often lively and informative but inclines to facile generalizations and dubious parallels. Yet it provides intriguing insights into contemporary anxieties. Future scholars may well look back on it as an example of "Green history."

JOACHIM WHALEY
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JOHN STROUP. *The Struggle for Identity in the Clerical Estate: Northwest German Protestant Opposition to Absolutist Policy in the Eighteenth Century*. (Studies in the History of Christian Thought, number 33.) Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1984. Pp. xii, 266. f 88.

The German Protestant theologians' response to Enlightenment secularism has been insufficiently studied. John Stroup has analyzed the defensive postures assumed by Hanoverian and Brunswick churchmen to secularist ("Enlightenment") attacks throughout the eighteenth century. At issue was not only the status of the clergy but also church control of the teaching profession. The leading theologians at Helmstedt and, later, at Göttingen dominated the scene from the 1730s to 1815. They successfully opposed the attempts of the state, secular reformers like Bahrdrdt and Campe, the Philanthropins, and Prussian writers like Thomasius to turn the clergy into an instrument of enlightened absolutism.

Suggestions for reforming the social role of clergymen varied. They were to be turned into statisticians, paramedics, village elementary school teachers, patriots, loyalists, and all-purpose clerks in the absolutist state's utilitarian and cameralist reforms

of the economy. As Stroup clearly demonstrates, by 1785 Brunswick attempted to take the educational system out of the hands of the consistory and put it under a special board. But this Protestant Josephism failed by 1790 because of the strong opposition of the estates.

The traditional defense of clergymen's role as preachers and as mediators of the message of the Gospels for the sake of human salvation is traced through a number of Hanoverian and Brunswick theological writings by J. Lorenz von Mosheim, J. Peter Miller, Heinrich Henke, and Gottfried Less. Stroup's research is thorough and impressive. His point of view is novel, and he has made an important contribution to German Enlightenment studies by quite clearly reinterpreting the responses of the clergy to the attempts to disestablish the clergy altogether and introduce a utilitarian religion intended to serve the ends of the centralist state.

The crisis of faith brought on by the attack from the radical Enlightenment produced much anguished introspection. Herder's role here is brought into perspective, and his theology is well summarized. The clergy allied with the *Bildungsbürgertum* and the neohumanists of the later eighteenth century to reassert the idea that divine revelation was more important than vocational training for the preservation of religion. The human being (*Mensch*), not the education of obedient citizens, was the important object. The traditionalists succeeded not in preserving "superstition" but in focusing on the emerging scientific discipline of psychology, which catered to the needs of the heart and lent scientific credibility to the mediators of divine revelation. Yet the clergy's alignment with the neohumanism then reviving in the schools was to be as important, for that doctrine was linked to the emergence of Ranke's "new history" in the generation after Napoleon. In its negative tendency traditionalism was to produce a conservative servility among the clergy in the modern era, but in 1807 it prevented the triumph of Bonapartism and King Jerome's program, which embodied a desire to rule over a nation of servile and ignorant peasants.

HELEN LIEBEL-WECKOWICZ
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UTE FREVERT. *Krankheit als politisches Problem, 1770–1880: Soziale Unterschichten in Preussen zwischen medizinischer Polizei und staatlicher Sozialversicherung*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 62.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1984. Pp. 469. DM 92.

This important work by Ute Frevert indicates the buoyancy of West German studies in the social history of medicine and medical policy. It traces the

politicization of health and illness from the late eighteenth century to the introduction of compulsory medical insurance in 1883. Although based largely on Prussian material, the book has wider implications for the study of the medicalization of German society and the professionalization of medical practice.

This process originated in the last few decades of the eighteenth century, when the need to improve the health of the indigenous population became part of the maximalization strategy of the enlightened, absolutist state. This development was actively supported by medical practitioners eager to promote professionalization. Although the totalitarian utopia of Frank's medical police was not realized, state interventionism became increasingly evident, laying the basis for the gradual transformation of the patient's role from that of an employer of medical expertise to that of an object for clinical experimentation.

A central aspect of this process was the medicalization of poverty in the late eighteenth century, which reflected increasing middle-class and medical concern with the apparent connection between poverty and illness and between health and morality. The growing problem of mass poverty in the post-Napoleonic era and middle-class fears of cross-infection during the cholera epidemics of the 1830s provided an acceptable rationale for increased state intervention. The reform measures relating to the poor and to military conscripts not only fostered blind obedience to medical rules and precepts but were also designed to enforce social discipline in the belief that the sick and the poor were ultimately responsible for their own situation. Illness and poverty, it was argued, had three common causes: alcohol, unrestrained sexuality, and filth.

A further key element was the development of health insurance from the 1840s onward. Frevert provides an impressive analysis of the attitude of the Prussian state, entrepreneurial employment policies, and the medical reform movement of the 1840s. The early factory sick funds are seen as instruments of social integration and social discipline designed to force the working class to pay more attention to health. Despite genuine democratic sentiments, health insurance was also an effective means of further extending the influence of the medical profession. Finally, Frevert analyzes the development of health insurance from the point of view of the working class and argues that improved free access to medical help contributed positively to the health of factory workers and journeymen. Indeed, given the political constraints of the 1850s and 1860s, the independent sick funds functioned as a focal point for working-class solidarity and trade union development.

In the absence of an established corpus of academic research in Germany in this area, Frevert's work is pioneering. Inevitably, she relies largely on contemporary secondary literature, particularly on medical writings; the quality of such evidence, however, may be problematic. The book raises many issues in relation to the social history of medicine during this period that should generate additional archival research into the efficacy of hospital treatment, class-specific mortality and morbidity rates, and the changing social perception of health and illness.

A more serious problem relates to the medicalization imperative of the absolutist Prussian state. If this was such an important impulse in the politicization of health, why did Prussia in the late eighteenth century only resort to indirect forms of medical control (avoiding, for example, compulsory smallpox inoculation) when other German states were far less diffident in their approach to enforced medicalization? The Bielefeld evidence shows that hospitalization was only applied to a very small minority of the poor and that the Hamburg model for reform in this area was actively designed to reduce the average length of hospital treatment. It is problematic to view the extension of medicalization as a linear process culminating in the largely passive subservience of the individual patient to the modern health industry. Despite the relative strength of the central bureaucracy, the implementation of the medicalization imperative encountered severe financial constraints, administrative difficulties, as well as a justified skepticism concerning the monopoly of medical practitioners. Moreover, despite the development of health insurance from the 1840s onward as an agent of socialization, recourse to trained medical personnel, particularly in rural areas, remained quite limited to the end of the period under consideration.

This book deserves to be read widely. It raises a broad range of issues of central importance in German medical, social, and political history and should stimulate further research in these relatively uncharted waters.

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JOHN BREUILLY and WIELAND SACHSE. *Joachim Friedrich Martens (1806–1877) und die Deutsche Arbeiterbewegung*. (Göttinger Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, number 8.) Göttingen: Otto Schwartz. 1984. Pp. 489.

Authors are frequently accused of choosing titles that overstate the contents of their books. John Breuilly and Wieland Sachse might well be charged with doing the opposite. This is far more than a

biography of the Hamburg carpenter and successful lumber dealer J. F. Martens, who, as a leader of the Educational Association for Workers, played a significant role in local politics for several decades in the mid-nineteenth century. Rather, it is a broadly conceived study of the transition between artisan-oriented organizations and class-based political movements as reflected by developments in one of the most important cities of Central Europe.

As a dissertation, this book undoubtedly was closer in form to a traditional biography. But Breuilly, in collaboration with Sachse, has modified and expanded it to such an extent that Martens is hardly mentioned throughout lengthy sections of the work. Martens's life, when discussed in detail, is treated as an example of what happened to many craftsmen during this period of rapid social and political change. The description of his many years as a wandering journeyman, for instance, leads into an analysis of the impact on German laborers of their contacts with more advanced working-class movements abroad. The discussion of his role as a founder and officer of the Educational Association for Workers in Hamburg provides an opportunity for Breuilly and Sachse to discuss the political significance of such organizations in the early stages of the workers' movement, both in Hamburg and in Germany as a whole. Throughout, they endeavor with considerable success to view their subject within the contemporary context rather than anticipating later developments.

Making judicious use of the substantial and as yet largely untapped papers of Martens as well as police reports and other records preserved in the Hamburg Staatsarchiv, the authors reveal significant links between events in Hamburg and the development of national organizations such as the *Bund der Kommunisten* and the *Arbeiterverbrüderung*. As is so often the case when local history is studied effectively, the result is a more complex and differentiated picture than is produced by simply examining a situation from the top down. Breuilly and Sachse reveal, for instance, that local personality clashes as well as a generational conflict go far to explain why Hamburg became a major center of support for Ferdinand Lassalle's General German Workers Association in the 1860s.

This innovative effort to transform a biography of a peripheral figure into a work of general interest has not, however, been crowned with complete success. Perhaps partly as a result of the difficulties involved in producing any collaborative work, it is marred by an uneven and at times pedantic style. Moreover, some of the sections devoted to national and international developments are so superficial as to be superfluous. Nevertheless, Breuilly and Sachse have made a significant contribution to the increas-

ing body of literature on this era in German social and political history.

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HERMANN GREIVE. *Geschichte des modernen Antisemitismus in Deutschland*. (Grundzüge, number 53.) Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche. 1983. Pp. ix, 224.

Is yet another survey of the history of anti-Semitism in Germany really necessary? The answer, after having read Hermann Greive's clearly written, well-organized, and convincingly argued little volume, is most assuredly in the affirmative. Greive, who enjoys a distinguished scholarly reputation for his studies of the political and social impact of Christian anti-Semitic theology, has tackled what appears to be an easy enough task, namely, to paint in broad strokes the genesis, development, and final murderous phases of Jew-hatred in one of Europe's most advanced nations.

It is, of course, not at all easy to relate this tale. A growing number of excellent monographs on anti-Semitism in German-speaking Europe have appeared in recent years. A thread running through all of these works is the persistent belief on all levels of society that the Jews would remain at heart a distinct group, ultimately impervious to the forces of assimilation, up to and including baptism into the Christian faith. Much of this is well known, but Greive has put us in his debt by gathering together a number of classic statements from the protoracist anti-Semitic publicists who flourished in Central Europe from the 1840s to 1870s.

The most stimulating aspect of the first section of this volume is provided by the new details uncovered on the ideas of several long-forgotten confessional anti-Semites like Konrad Martin, Catholic bishop of Paderborn, who argued that the socially objectionable behavior of Jews was clearly derived from their religion based on the Talmud. Greive's superb research has uncovered a number of fascinating if repulsive personalities who thrived during the last third of the nineteenth century. Besides the notorious August Rohling, we are presented with a rogues' gallery that includes the converted Jew Aron Briman who, using the pseudonym "Dr. Justus," published under Catholic auspices a corrosive *Juden-spiegel*. Of more than passing curiosity are the ideas of Friedrich Julius Stahl, the ultraconservative Lutheran social philosopher who was himself a youthful convert from Judaism. Stahl conceded to Jewry an inherent and deep religiosity but insisted that the "Mosaic spirit" and that of *Deutschtum* were totally incompatible, like "water and fire."

Greive adds significantly to our knowledge of the dynamics of German anti-Semitism in the 1870s and

1880s by going beyond the standard argument that Adolf Stöcker and other northern German Lutherans virtually monopolized the emerging anti-Jewish movement. Of considerable importance were the Roman Catholic intellectuals and clerics who joined the anti-Semitic chorus, not only because of their paranoid fear of pernicious Jewish influences in the turbulent liberal society of the day but also because of their motive of diverting attention from themselves as an allegedly ultramontanist group widely perceived to be potentially disloyal and "un-German." Thus, one rejected minority deflected attacks on itself by joining the growing trend of viewing another minority, the Jews, as the ultimate source of—to use Treitschke's phrase—"our misfortune." As liberalism became increasingly discredited, the Jews took the brunt of the growing antiliberal consensus, and anti-Semitic prophets appeared all over Wilhelmine Germany and a crisis-plagued Dual Monarchy.

The second half of this book treats the period from 1914 to the early 1980s. The basic facts are as well known as they are ghastly, and even a gifted scholar like Greive can do little more than provide us with data that ultimately do not explain why barbarism erupted in the heart of Europe at a time when even pessimists believed that at least the foundations of the Enlightenment heritage remained intact in Western civilization. Civilization crumbled in the Central Europe of the 1930s, and anti-Semitism was one of the strongest battering-rams used to breach its walls. The Jews served as perfect scapegoats: assimilated members of a society in profound crisis, they remained distinctively separate enough for millions to accept the argument that they were indeed the source of an infection that, if not drastically "cured," would prove fatal for the bourgeois order. As symbols, the Jews served the needs of the *terribles simplificateurs* who saw this creative minority as the source of both a disintegrative capitalist individualism and a pathologically feared "Jewish bolshevism." In the end irrationalism had its triumph, transforming the land of Kant, Goethe, and Schiller into the nation responsible for Buchenwald, Dachau, and Auschwitz.

It is to be hoped that an enterprising American publisher will translate this excellent book into English. The index is exemplary in its completeness, but the next edition should add to the bibliography several standard monographs here omitted, including Donald Niewyk's *Socialist, Anti-Semite, and Jew* (1971) and the old (1927) but still useful survey of academic anti-Semitism by Oskar Scheuer, *Burschenschaft und Judenfrage*.

JOHN HAAG
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IVO NIKOLAI LAMBI. *The Navy and German Power Politics, 1862–1914*. Boston: Allen and Unwin. 1984. Pp. xiii, 449. \$37.50.

Ivo Nikolai Lambi has spent nearly two decades putting together this massive compendium of German naval contingency planning. Based on West German archives—particularly the Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv in Freiburg—the book traces the development of war planning, especially against Great Britain, France, the Low Countries, Russia, and the United States. In addition, Lambi examines the interaction of German army and navy planning. A good deal of this parallels the earlier works of Paul Kennedy, Jonathan Steinberg, Holger Herwig, and David Trask. Lambi alternates the narrative between chapters dealing with Germany's overall diplomatic relations with other powers and those concerned with specific case planning. This work will replace Walther Hubatsch's uncritical study of the *Admiralstab* (1958) as well as Carl-Axel Gemzell's turgid sociological treatment, *German Naval Strategic Planning* (1973). The stupendous amount of documentation brought to light by Lambi will be of immense value to all historians of German *Machtpolitik*.

My major criticism of the book is that it lacks a thesis. The closest Lambi comes to suggesting one is his concluding remark that the Reich failed "to coordinate the different agencies of the German leadership" (p. 424). A second argument rejects the views of Fritz Fischer and Adolf Gasser that the "war council" of December 8, 1912, led to war in 1914 (p. 384). Neither is terribly new or controversial. I also question Lambi's opening statement: "This book is a story of power" (p. xi). By and large, it is the story, at best, of the presumption of power or, at worst, of the illusion of power. Finally, Lambi's opaque comments concerning recent "tendentious" works on the German navy needs development in a work of this length.

Although this volume is handsomely produced with tables, notes, and a bibliographical note, careful editing and proofing would have prevented a number of cosmetic errors. Thus, Herbert Bismarck, Friedrich Hollmann, Eduard Capelle, and August Heeringen are demoted from the ranks of the nobility. And, although one may overlook improper titles or spellings of people such as Bethmann Hollweg, Bülow, Eckardstein, Eulenburg, Hopman, Müller, Trützschler, Ritter, and Zimmermann, howlers such as "Arthur Mahan" are inexcusable.

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WILFRIED LOTH. *Katholiken im Kaiserreich: Der politische Katholizismus in der Krise des wilhelminischen Deutsch-*

lands. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der Politischen Parteien, number 75.) Düsseldorf: Dröste, for the Kommission für Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der Politischen Parteien. 1984. Pp. 446. DM 78.

As a reassessment of the nature and character of Wilhelmine Germany's political crisis, Wilfried Loth's book differs from other recent and familiar writings on this theme in that it ascribes less design and conscious purpose to antireform sentiment and activity. To make his case, Loth seeks to describe those political realities that determined parliamentary compromise and concession, to assess the extent to which the Wilhelmine state moved away from its authoritarian origins, and to explain why coherent and systematic reform (or antireform) programs were so difficult to devise, implement, and sustain.

Playing a central role in Loth's analysis is the Catholic Center party. That party, he argues, despite its pivotal position in the Reichstag and its capacity to support either the right or the left, proved in practice both unable to adopt a consistent stance supporting the government and opposing the left and incapable of providing sustained support to the left and its reformist energies. Composed of socially diverse groups like agrarian conservatives, bourgeois political professionals, populist shopkeepers, retailers, peasants, and working-class democrats, the party found itself unable to agree for long about priorities and programs. The diversity of groupings and the plurality of interests, he claims, made for little unanimity of opinion, led to uncertainties about strategy and goals, and forced the party along an erratic course that vacillated between collaboration and opposition.

Although this confusion hindered the stabilization of the authoritarian order in Germany on the one hand and hampered a liberal and democratic reform movement on the other, Loth maintains that it did not prevent the Center from consolidating an impressive political position in the Reichstag. But, according to Loth, if the Center's policies and tactics enlarged its parliamentary role, they did so at a price. He concludes that parliamentary success fueled political aspirations among ordinary people that the party's leadership was unable or unwilling to meet, intensified the polarization between the bourgeoisie and the lower classes, and hardened political tensions and divisions among the Center's electorate.

Although Loth makes comprehensive use of the relevant archival material and printed sources, his conclusions are weakened by a narrow analytical perspective that concentrates on the party hierarchy and its behavior. Despite its title and promise, this work has little to say about Germany's millions of Catholics. The themes Loth pursues and the exam-

ples he describes provide instead a detailed study of the Center party's Reichstag caucus, a group variously numbering 91 to 106 members, and its ambivalent relationship to a few high churchmen and Catholic labor leaders. Missing from Loth's account, unfortunately, is an assessment of the political attitudes and beliefs of the larger Catholic community that is based on a sustained and convincing examination of the populace itself, its regional diversity, its local interests and affiliations, its grass-roots organizations, its religious convictions, and its ties to the Roman church. Because he is so preoccupied with what the party's decision makers could or could not do in national affairs and what assumptions guided their thinking and conduct, Loth exaggerates the inability of the Center's leadership in the era before 1914 to reconcile antagonistic interests within the party and, more important, underestimates the extent to which the Catholic community's aspirations, grievances, and resentments provided an anti-left bias to the Center's policies and placed the party and its leaders if not in the right, at least with the right.

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GEROLD AMBROSIUS. *Der Staat als Unternehmer: Öffentliche Wirtschaft und Kapitalismus seit dem 19. Jahrhundert.* (Kleine Vandenhoeck-Reihe, number 1498.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1984. Pp. 198. DM 20.80.

Gerold Ambrosius's slender study is a useful contribution to the history of the interventionist state in modern Germany. Specifically, he treats the history of full and partial public ownership of industrial enterprises since the second half of the nineteenth century. Although, as Ambrosius notes, scholars have dealt fairly extensively with certain sectors of the German public economy, they have given less attention to long-term trends in the history of government-owned enterprise. Thus, his work is primarily designed as a thematic introduction to, rather than a systematic or exhaustive survey of, a substantial stretch of German economic history.

Ambrosius focuses his remarks on the evolution of public ownership in the *Kaiserreich*, the Weimar Republic, and the Federal Republic. Although the German states inherited a variety of properties from the days of mercantilism, the character and extent of public enterprise changed markedly with the coming of industrialism. Public officials at the municipal, *Land*, and *Reich* levels began after the 1860s to acquire and to create a variety of enterprises, including gas and electrical suppliers, waterworks, postal services, urban mass transportation systems, savings institutions, and railways. At first public authorities, especially municipal officials, tended to

pursue fiscal goals in their acquisitions policies; waterworks, for example, were quite profitable investments for municipal governments in the late nineteenth century. But soon other public-policy considerations—for example, the provision of social services and infrastructural support for local or regional economic development—came to play a dominant role.

The author contends that the history of German public enterprise demonstrates important organizational and administrative continuities that have transcended changes in political structures. These continuities persisted after the Second World War, and direct state involvement in various kinds of enterprise has remained a significant feature of the Federal Republic's "social market economy." Since the middle of the 1970s, though, direct public involvement in the economy has come under increasing attack, and in the Federal Republic, as elsewhere in Western Europe and North America, proposals for the privatization of public enterprises have become louder and more insistent. The author hopes, in fact, that his book can serve as a contribution to the present discussion by, among other things, affirming the continued utility of public enterprise.

He is not, however, a very effective advocate of such enterprise. He admits that many of the purposes that public enterprises in Germany were at one time supposed to fulfill are no longer as significant as they once were, and his arguments against more extensive privatization are not especially convincing. It is also unfortunate that, for all his treatment of other aspects of public enterprise from railways to municipal abattoirs, he has virtually nothing to say about the history of radio and television broadcasting in Germany, an issue of public control that has been vigorously debated in recent years.

Despite such limitations, Ambrosius's book can nevertheless be recommended as a carefully organized and analytically judicious review of a large and complicated subject.

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HEINRICH AUGUST WINKLER. *Von der Revolution zur Stabilisierung: Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung in der Weimarer Republik 1918 bis 1924*. (Geschichte der Arbeiter und der Arbeiterbewegung in Deutschland seit dem Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts.) Berlin: J. H. W. Dietz. 1984. Pp. 786. DM 75.

This massive work covers many areas: business-labor cooperation and confrontation, changes in the standard of living of various types of workers, analysis of the impact of inflation, detailed examination of voting behavior in national elections in the early

Weimar Republic. Still, its focus remains the *hohe Politik* of the working-class parties, and Heinrich August Winkler shows a masterful grasp of domestic and foreign policy issues, primary sources, and the voluminous secondary literature.

Winkler argues that the level of industrialization and democratization in Germany set the contours of the revolution of 1918. Responsible politicians could not allow a complete breakdown of public administration and the economy, which a radical revolution might have brought about. And, despite all the limitations on popular sovereignty in the Second Reich, the idea of democracy had gained enough ground in Germany that relatively few could stomach the notion of a revolutionary dictatorship.

These factors help explain the cautious and moderate policies pursued in late 1918 by the most reluctant revolutionaries, the leaders of the Social Democratic party (SPD). Winkler meticulously describes how the constitutional reform of October 1918 and the SPD's entrance into the government failed to take effect and how mass action to end the war and create a more democratic regime thus became unstoppable. The SPD bowed to the pressure from below and took over the revolution on November 9. The members of the German Independent Socialists party (USPD) were too divided and disorganized to exert influence comparable to that of the SPD. The subsequent merger of the USPD left wing with the Communist party and the return of the right wing to the SPD might well have occurred earlier, with positive results for Weimar.

Winkler criticizes the social democrats for their failure to secure control of the military, to remove monarchists from the civil service, to nationalize the coal industry, and to confiscate the east Elbian estates, all of which would have weakened the opponents of the democratic republic. But he regards the SPD's decision to move rapidly from revolution to parliamentary democracy as sensible. These two judgments lead him to the conclusion that the social democrats had to act very quickly—between November 9, 1918, and January 19, 1919, the date of the elections to the Constituent National Assembly. Afterward, given the limitations imposed by coalitions with nonsocialist parties and the constraints of foreign policy, the SPD lacked the necessary leverage.

Winkler has certainly isolated the period of greatest opportunity for major reforms. But, if the military, business interests, and nonsocialist parties were later able to block social democratic proposals easily, might they not also have reversed structural changes from the revolutionary period?

Winkler argues convincingly that the social democrats added to their problems by failing to grasp the seriousness of the threat from the right and assuming, at times against all logic, that withdrawal

into opposition would heal wounds inflicted from without and within. Both errors resulted at least in part from a deterministic view of history. Another factor was a vocal left wing within the party that was fundamentally hostile to coalitions with nonsocialist parties. Particularly after the merger of the SPD and USPD in the fall of 1922, this left opposition weakened the SPD's influence in national politics.

Winkler is skeptical about whether workers' and soldiers' councils could ever have found a lasting role within a parliamentary republic, and he does not trust the left USPD's and communists' enthusiasm for a *Räterepublik*. One of the strong points of this work is its secure grasp of developments in all three working-class parties (and the Russian Communist party) as well as in the socialist trade unions. Winkler's analysis of political programs and statements from the various factions within each working-class party is, however, sometimes excessive.

Winkler concludes that the social democrats alone were too weak to save Weimar. They needed more help from the nonsocialist parties than was offered. Still, one can see in retrospect that a more concerted social democratic commitment to interparty cooperation and a shift away from the old rhetoric of the class struggle would have produced a better chance of success from early 1919 on.

RICHARD BREITMAN
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HENRY ASHBY TURNER, JR. *German Big Business and the Rise of Hitler*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1985. Pp. xxi, 504. \$25.00.

Henry Ashby Turner, Jr. has made a major contribution to what has become a most controversial subject: the role of German big business in financing and promoting Hitler's rise to power. The volume is based on meticulous and comprehensive research in the public archives of West and East Germany and in numerous business archives now open to serious researchers, as well as on the evidence contained in an extraordinary range and variety of published sources. Most notably, it is characterized by a careful analysis of those sources and a painstaking evaluation of the evidence they provide undertaken by a scholar more interested in getting at the truth they contain than in verifying any preconceived idea or abstract theory.

Turner demonstrates that big business's financial and political contribution to the rise of National Socialism was negligible. While a few major industrialists such as Fritz Thyssen and Emil Kirdorf gave Hitler eccentric support, and Hjalmar Schacht played a role suitable to his sinister character, the bulk of such industrialist money as went to the Nazis was given to "moderate" individual Nazis with the object of "taming" the party and imparting to its

leaders what was held to be economic wisdom. Big business contributions to the Nazis were trivial when compared to their subvention of "friendly" candidates and of the organizations of the bourgeois parties to which they had traditionally looked for political support. Most big businessmen were suspicious of Nazi radicalism, which they often viewed as another brand of socialism. Unable to dismiss the realities of Nazi popular strength after the September 1930 elections, they sought to influence the movement in a manner favorable to business interests as well as to invest in a measure of "insurance" in case of Nazi success. Generally speaking, however, they opposed Nazi participation in the government and supported the formation of a right-wing bourgeois coalition that would draw votes from the Nazis and support the probusiness economic and social policies and conservative constitutional reforms they favored. In the process of this demonstration, Turner explodes many myths that have found their way into very respectable historical works and textbooks, for example, that Hitler's Düsseldorf Industry Club speech of January 26, 1932, was a financial and political breakthrough for the Nazis, that big business was successfully courted by the Nazis after the November 1932 elections, and that the industrialists responded to Schleicher's chancellorship at the turn of 1932-33 by supporting Papen's plot to make Hitler chancellor and bankrolling the Nazis. He also shows that the various sectors of big business, especially the leadership of heavy industry, were badly divided on political matters, did not operate as a coherent "fraction" in political affairs, and proved incapable of forming a "block" with agriculture.

The unpleasant truth is that Nazism, like Germany's other great mass social movement, social democracy, was self-supporting thanks to the dedication of its members and a host of imaginative and well-organized funding devices and enterprises. Insofar as the Nazis received industrial support, Turner argues with telling evidence, it came from small and medium-sized industrialists in the Rhineland, Saxony, Baden, and elsewhere. Such businessmen were particularly vulnerable to the depression and often hated both organized labor and the trustified and cartelized power of big business. This reviewer would also suggest that the Nazis may have won support from significant numbers of middle management and technical personnel in large enterprises. What is clear is that big business did not support Hitler. In contrast to the army and the agrarian interests around Hindenburg, it played no role in the actual process of bringing Hitler to power.

This does not mean that big business supported the republic. As Turner shows in a masterful survey of the politics of big business before the depression at the beginning of the book as well as in his analysis

of the great crisis, "the political record of big business is sadly lacking in political acumen" and "is even more sorely devoid of public morality and civil courage" (p. 348). Unable to translate their financial resources into political power, they did manage to place the bourgeois parties into a condition of financial dependency. When they suddenly cut off some of that support in the spring of 1932 in an effort to impose bourgeois unity, they only ended up giving indirect assistance to the Nazis. Like so much of Germany's elite, they "viewed Nazism myopically and opportunistically" (p. 349) and, unlike Hitler, failed to understand the primacy of politics over economics.

In Turner's view, Marxist historians and others who seek to explain Hitler's rise to power in terms of economic influences and forces have incurred the same misunderstanding. Nevertheless, some will argue that Turner has overdone his attack on Marxist, structural, and other forms of conceptual and theoretical analyses of Weimar's fall. Marxist and structural analyses of the vulnerabilities of the Weimar Republic do not necessarily have to demonstrate big business support of Hitler. Furthermore, as Turner shows, the conflicts between big business and small and medium-sized business did achieve some political expression. One does not have to believe that Germany's fate should be laid at the doorstep of capitalism to argue, as I would, that the peculiarities of German capitalism have something to do with Germany's fate. If structural arguments may have more of a future than Turner suggests, however, he is still correct in arguing that "unless the proximate form of causation can be convincingly demonstrated, the invocation of more remote levels of causation remains empty speculation, bereft of any foundation in the realities of history" (p. 358).

When Turner states in his rather pessimistic conclusion that he will be treated with condescension as "a mere positivist, a vulgar factologist" (p. 357), he is not boxing with shadows. Although it would seem obvious that historical debate cannot take place on the basis of incompatible versions of the same documents, the condemnation of David Abraham's *Col-lapse of the Weimar Republic* (1981) for the misquotation and misconstrual of many of the very documents on which Turner's argument rests has been criticized by no less a figure than Carl Schorske. In Hegelian language, Schorske has argued that Turner, and this reviewer, have exhibited a "sad confusion between 'facticity' and historical truth," (*New York Times*, Dec. 26, 1984, p. 19) and has gone so far as to propagate the pernicious notion that, Abraham's "mistakes" notwithstanding, his book can be considered a "historically truthful construct" (*The Daily Californian*, Feb. 12, 1985, p. 10). In this context, one can only welcome Turner's explicit and implicit rejection of a pervasive historiographical

high fashion and trendiness that encourage airy "interpretations," unverifiable constructs, irrelevant concepts, and outright violations of common sense as high intellectual adventure. It is a joy to have a major book that can be confirmed or refuted on the basis of evidence. In the meantime, Turner's book undermines the escapism that would have us believe that Hitler's success was the consequence of big business support and money rather than of the political and moral delinquencies of nearly every group in German society and the potency of Nazi methods of social and political mobilization.

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RICHARD BESSEL. *Political Violence and the Rise of Nazism: The Storm Troopers in Eastern Germany, 1925-1934*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Pp. xii, 215. \$20.00.

This meticulously researched study is another in the growing number of works that focus on local and regional aspects in the history of the Nazi movement. In some respects this one is unique. Richard Bessel's book is the first scholarly work in English or German that not only relies on the relevant archives of East and West Germany but also makes extensive use of unpublished materials in the Polish provincial archives, such as those in Breslau, Schneidemühl, and Gleiwitz.

Bessel explores the factors that led to the rise and fall of the *Sturmabteilungen* (SA) while also attempting to explain the stormtroopers' violent behavior in the Nazi movement and the early years in power. These are important issues, and it is unfortunate that, despite the book's impressive documentary basis, the answers are somewhat disappointing. This is not altogether the author's fault. Although he effectively brings out the unique economic, social, and political situation in the provinces east of the Oder-Neisse Line, it would appear that the history of the National Socialist German Workers' party (NSDAP) and the stormtroopers in these areas was not fundamentally different from that of other areas of the Reich. The Nazi party and the SA were negligible factors until 1929-30. The movement then grew rapidly until the crisis of late 1932, when its fortunes began to decline. The trend was reversed only by the *Machtergreifung*. That the tale is familiar does not diminish the significance of the author's work, but it does not always make for very exciting reading.

There are, however, some additional problems that are more properly the author's responsibility. The book contains a great deal of detailed narration on local events. Some of this, such as the picture of

daily life among the stormtroopers, is effective, but at times the narration comes at the expense of in-depth analysis. Bessel's discussion of the social composition of the stormtroopers is fairly conventional. Confirming that the SA had a somewhat larger percentage of working-class members than the Nazi movement as a whole does not really answer the question of why these particular people joined the SA rather than the *Stahlhelm* or, for that matter, the *Rote Frontkämpferbund*.

For the events leading up to the 1934 purge of the SA, Bessel succumbs to the opposite temptation. He concentrates overly on national developments, returning to the regional focus only for the murderous days of late June and early July 1934. This is unfortunate, since it is precisely at the regional and local level that more general studies, such as Heinz Höhne's recent *Mordsache Röhm*, need amplification.

Bessel struggles with the paradox of the stormtroopers' constantly violent behavior before 1933 and during the early months after the *Machtergreifung* and their lack of forceful defense during the Röhm purge. On the second part of the paradox Bessel essentially agrees with Höhne's conclusion that the SA had been paralyzed by too-rapid growth after January 1933 and that in any case the rank and file among the stormtroopers was interested in obtaining the spoils of power, not staging a "second revolution." Since they did not see the issue in terms of intramovement power, they were not prepared for the use of power by their enemies within the Nazi movement.

As to the SA's violence during the *Kampfzeit*, the author relates the stormtroopers' acts of terror to the endemic presence of violence in German society, but I am not sure that his evidence supports his conclusion. Most stormtroopers seemed to have lived quiet, albeit perhaps desperate, lives until the full impact of the depression was felt in eastern Germany. On a more psychological level, frequent references to alcoholism among the stormtroopers seem to indicate that this was not a typical population of the area. It is also interesting to note that there were reports of public disapproval of stormtrooper excesses, such as those during *Kristallnacht*.

The book, then, is an important regional study based on previously unused archival material. The questions asked are important ones, and, even if some of the answers are familiar or incomplete, Bessel's study provides another stone in the still incomplete mosaic of the history of Nazism.

DIETRICH ORLOW
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ELISABETH HEISENBERG. *Inner Exile: Recollections of a Life with Werner Heisenberg*. Translated by S. CAPPELLARI and C. MORRIS. Foreword by VICTOR WEISSKOPF.

Cambridge, Mass.: Birkhäuser Boston. 1984. Pp. xvii, 148. \$14.95.

The Nazi regime, in the words of Joachim Fest, "represented a politically organized contempt for the mind," and the Nazis, in Peter Viereck's delightful assessment of their moral and technical development, were "Neanderthals in airplanes—with apologies to the Neanderthals." Within months after Hitler came to power in 1933, the new government passed legislation barring non-Aryans from academic life. Physics was particularly hard hit, ultimately suffering a loss of at least 25 percent of its personnel, including some of the finest scientists in Germany. Einsteinian physics was declared a "Jewish science" and replaced by a woolly amalgam of racial voodoo, military sacrifice, and Germanness that was known as "Aryan physics" and advocated by two outspoken Nazi enthusiasts (astonishingly, both Nobel laureates), Lenard Philipp and Johannes Stark. The result was an exodus of scientific talent unparalleled in recent history: Albert Einstein, James Franck, Max Born, Erwin Schrödinger, Otto Stern, Felix Bloch, Eugene Wigner, Hans Bathe—all Nobel prize winners, past and future. Those who chose to remain were forced onto a terrifying path of compromise, conspiracy, and intellectual subjugation as described in Alan Beyerchen's outstanding book, *Scientists under Hitler: Politics and the Physics Community in the Third Reich* (1977). One of those who remained was Werner Heisenberg, winner of the 1933 Nobel Prize in physics, whose widow, Elisabeth Heisenberg, now poignantly reexamines the moral anguish he faced and the price paid for that decision.

Young Heisenberg, then thirty-three years old, was already an influential voice in the renowned world of German and, indeed, international physics. Many considered him the intellectual heir to Niels Bohr, who, with Max Planck, is credited with the quantization of energy and the development of quantum mechanics. At the same time, Heisenberg was a professor who jealously guarded his mandarin status and prided himself on his disdain for politics. Most important, Heisenberg was deeply and unabashedly German. Moreover, according to his wife: "A conspicuous trait in Heisenberg's character was his stubbornness. It is said of the Westphalians that they are incredibly bullheaded, and Heisenberg was Westphalian!" (p. 50).

With the arrival of the Nazis, Heisenberg faced a difficult choice: to remain in his beloved Germany and protect "true physics" as well as his vulnerable colleagues and students or to emigrate to safety, abandon his friends, and continue his work at any of the world's great universities. It was apparently Planck who convinced him to stay, advising him that emigrating would not alter anything in Germany

and that, in fact, the population might never even learn that he had left. "Hold out until it has passed," Planck reportedly told him. "Form 'islands of stability' and salvage things of value from the catastrophe" (p. 40). Heisenberg conceded and stayed to become a touchstone for the remaining luminaries, who, for their own reasons, also chose to survive under Hitler. The decision to remain plagued his life and sullied his reputation. It is the concern of much of his wife's recollections.

In electing to form an "island of stability" in what he hoped would be the temporary lunacy of the Third Reich, Heisenberg entered a twilight zone of bureaucratic backstabbing, jeering students, lost promotions, and colleagues who unexplainedly disappeared into the Nazi "night and fog." Still, by constant negotiation and compromise, bluster and conspiracy, Heisenberg managed to endure. And in spite of such obstacles he continued to decline all offers from abroad, the last tendered by Columbia University during his visit to the United States in mid-May 1939, a scant three months before the outbreak of World War II. His rejection of that offer and his silence concerning his supposed personal loathing of the Nazis further tarnished his reputation.

Heisenberg came under strongest suspicion, however, when it was accurately rumored in 1941 that his team had developed a primitive atomic reactor. According to his wife, he was privately convinced that Germany could never muster the resources to build an atomic bomb, and any belief to the contrary, she angrily maintains, is in complete error. Indeed, she says, German failure to produce such a bomb was owing largely to her husband's intentional foot-dragging. There is little evidence to support her contention. The facts are that during the first two years of the war the Germans had been so militarily successful that no need for nuclear weapons had been foreseen. Even when the war began to go badly for Germany, Hitler could not be interested in nuclear fission; even if he had been, the anti-Jewish purges of the previous decade had eliminated too many of the country's scientists for a nuclear weapons program to succeed. Curiously, Elisabeth Heisenberg sees no contradiction in recalling that German nuclear physicists (her husband included), interned in England at the end of the war, were stunned by America's success at Hiroshima and hastened to produce an angry report attesting to their far earlier breakthrough.

Heisenberg, however tainted, survived the war and, according to his wife, worked tirelessly, if unsuccessfully, to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons in postwar Germany. He continued his work on a number of major scientific problems and produced his much-celebrated unified field theory in 1958. He became the president and then

the director of the prestigious Max Planck Institute, with which the Allied occupation authorities had replaced Heisenberg's equally renowned Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physics. Heisenberg also wrote two unrevealing philosophical books, *The Physicist's Conception of Nature* (1958) and *Physics and Beyond: Encounters and Conversations* (1971). His death in 1976 ended his brilliant career but not the controversy surrounding his decision, forty years earlier, reluctantly to cast his lot with the Nazis.

From the outset, the inherent problem in this poignant and introspective book clearly concerns the veracity of the feelings and insights recalled some forty years after the events in question. Although she concedes in the introduction that "it would be a mistake to assume that I have conclusive new documents capable of shedding a completely new and clear light on the image of Heisenberg" (p. 2), she feels it is imperative that the truth finally be told by the one who knew him best. Given the passage of time involved, the lack of substantiating documents, and her stated goal of rehabilitating Heisenberg's image (not to mention her obvious devotion to her husband's memory), her arguments should be accepted most gingerly by historians.

Still, Elisabeth Heisenberg's recollections of her husband make fascinating reading. Like Heisenberg himself, the reader is challenged to wrestle with such moral issues as allegiance to an odious regime while pursuing a higher goal, personal sacrifice on behalf of the protection of others, and the scientist's responsibilities to future generations for potentially destructive discoveries. Heisenberg did not choose the easiest path or the one we might cavalierly elect from our safe vantage point of the present. He was neither an Einstein, who admittedly had no choice but to flee from persecution, nor a Sakharov, who heroically chooses to battle for liberty, tolerance, and equality in his native Russia. Heisenberg did what many might have done: he took the path of least resistance and hoped that the crisis would pass. Lamentably, historical perspective convinces us that we know the profound truth—the choice people should have made. Yet, as Bohr once said in reference to a different matter: "The opposite of a correct statement is a false statement. But the opposite of a profound truth may well be another profound truth." Perhaps Elisabeth Heisenberg's portrayal of her husband is correct.

ARNOLD KRAMMER
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ANN TUSA and JOHN TUSA. *The Nuremberg Trial*. New York: Atheneum. 1984. Pp. 519. \$22.95.

The great Nuremberg trial of 1945–46, which pitted the four victorious Allied governments against Hermann Göring and his colleagues, has received

rather spotty treatment in the historical literature. Until 1982–83 the general accounts that appeared immediately after the conclusion of the proceedings had only been succeeded by a scattering of specialized monographs plus Eugene Davidson's *Trial of the Germans* (1966) and Werner Maser's *Nuremberg* (1977).

This work by Ann Tusa and John Tusa, which first appeared in Britain, seems to be the best of the current crop. A straightforward narrative survey of the trial, it does not contain any startling documentary revelations but is firmly grounded on interviews and the most important published and unpublished sources. As one would expect from a work by a senior BBC announcer, the explanations are generally clear, the account moves well, and it is highly readable. On occasion the authors felt compelled to blur chronological sequences to sustain the narrative line, but such is the inevitable fate of narrative history.

The most significant reservation about the volume arises from the nature of the subject rather than the work of the authors. Such a book can (and this one, happily, does) explain the reasons for the trial, trace the courtroom and behind-the-scenes action, describe the judgment, sentences, and executions, and then reflect on their justice and possible importance for the future. But, as one reads the summaries of the testimony and documentary evidence, the impression inevitably arises that in important respects the case against these particular defendants on this indictment produced evidence that hardly corresponds to the way most historians would now see the chief characteristics and dynamics of the Third Reich. Such matters as the social and psychological dynamics of Nazism and the wartime changes produced in the SS and the Wehrmacht played no part in the trial, whereas the execution of a small group of RAF prisoners was covered by pages of testimony and documents.

The Tusas and many other historians, including this reviewer, have concluded that under the circumstances the trial did a necessary job in a generally efficient and just manner. But, whether one tries to tell the history of the Third Reich against the background of the trial, as Davidson attempted to do, or concentrates on the trial narrative while ignoring the changing historical interpretations of Nazism, as the Tusas have done, the result cannot be completely satisfactory to professional historians.

This book tells its own story very well, but the more basic problem of how to put sophisticated accounts of both the trial and Nazism into one volume remains to be solved.

BRADLEY F. SMITH
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SIBYLLE MEYER and EVA SCHULZE. *Wie wir das alles geschafft haben: Alleinstehende Frauen berichten über ihr Leben nach 1945*. Munich: C. H. Beck. 1984. Pp. 238. DM 24.

From the ancient Greeks on, the theme of war has figured prominently in Western historiography, but mainly from a male perspective. As women's historians take up this topic, new research findings demonstrate that women and men have had vastly different experiences in modern war. Through the medium of oral history, Sibylle Meyer and Eva Schulze assess the social and economic consequences of the Second World War for generations of Berlin women who lost their husbands and never remarried or who never married in the first place. For statistical and public policy purposes, these women are considered "alone" in the world (*alleinstehende*), women who have no husbands.

Meyer and Schulze document the story of women in Berlin from the beginning of the systematic bombing in 1943 to the return to normalcy by the 1960s. The backdrop of the story is an inescapable demographic shift. The war took a heavy toll of male life: immediately after the war there were 1717 women for every 1000 men in Berlin; in 1950 the ratio was 1353:1000, and over one-third of all West Berlin households was headed by a woman. These women were not "alone," despite the statistical label; they had no husbands to be sure, but most lived with children, siblings, mothers, and other relatives, and at war's end and during the immediate postwar reconstruction daily survival encouraged the formation of larger women's communities and the pooling of resources and skills. It was women's work, including clearing the streets of rubble, that ensured continuity of life in the devastations of the immediate postwar era.

Illuminating is the "return to normalcy," when seen from the woman's perspective. The "whole" family (comprised of husband, wife, and children) became the norm as men returned from prisoner-of-war camps; the label "single" took on pejorative connotations. The newly built apartment complexes of the postwar housing boom were often reserved for the normative family, wage and job discrimination returned, and single working women found it difficult to include grandmothers and mothers in their health plans. Women-headed households were among the last to experience the "economic miracle" in West Germany.

The book centers on five detailed life histories (the names and places have been changed) and draws on the life experiences of twenty additional interviewees. The world of each main subject is a separate section, and Meyer and Schulze have written five additional chronologically sequential chapters that seek to place individual experience in a

broader sociohistorical context. I do not believe the authors successfully establish the relationship between individual cases, the larger group, and the specific historical setting. In the first place, they treat the Nazi regime and the postwar periods as discrete events, when, in fact, their subjects' lives span the whole time frame. The Nazi ambivalence toward women's gainful labor (even in the face of a desperate need for war work) is never addressed, and omitted is discussion of tensions that must have existed between the years of Nazi propaganda and the women's postwar labor experiences. Second, the group shares one major characteristic—being single—but beyond that are significant differences in social origin, labor experience, and family relations that are not addressed analytically. Also, it would have been beneficial, as the authors admit, to compare with the group of “single” women the survival strategies of those who later ended up living with their husbands. And, finally, the reminiscences reveal connections between war, violence, and sexuality—for example, prostitution was a survival strategy (bed for bread)—but these are not analyzed sufficiently. Nonetheless, oral history is an excellent vehicle for contemporary women's history and provides insights that are not found in more standard historical documents.

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EUAN CAMERON. *The Reformation of the Heretics: The Waldenses of the Alps, 1480–1580*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1984. Pp. xiv, 291. \$45.00.

On a hillside in a tiny Italian village stands a monument raised in 1932 to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the adoption of the Reformation by the Waldensian communities of the Italian and neighboring French alpine valleys. In his most exciting and important chapter, Euan Cameron argues that this celebrated event is a myth “in both the technical and the loose sense” (p. 139). Working both backward and forward from the 1530s, when the first tentative confrontations between Waldensians and Protestants occurred, Cameron offers us fresh and informative portraits of the late medieval heretical movement and of the gradual formation of a Protestant community in a remote corner of Western Europe.

The author believes that both halves of his history—the persecutions by inquisitors, peaking in a “crusade” in 1487–88, and the regrouping of Piedmontese Waldensians into Calvinist congregations after 1550—share important common features. “This barrier of incomprehension between learned

churchmen [whether Catholic or Protestant] and popular dissenters is a major historical fact in itself, perhaps even the key to any history of such heresy” (p. 3). His approach, in other words, is to apply the current fashions of analyzing early modern European popular culture to a group of French- and Italian-speaking mountaineers who have hitherto been the exclusive preserve of Protestant church historians with a top-heavy interest in formal theology.

Cameron's late medieval section seems on the whole the more persuasive discussion. He has an incomplete but rich documentary harvest of inquisitorial interrogations (many of them not made under torture; some accidentally acquired by Protestants less than a century later) and another cluster of documents from the successful rehabilitation action by the French Waldensians in 1501–07. From these he is able to judge their religious practices, of which the most important was probably the habit of confessing to heretical *barbes* normally less than once a year (pp. 87–88), and to assert that “most of the core of Waldensianism turns out to be only barely heretical” (p. 94). Against this background it becomes far easier to see why the talks of 1532 “did not so much presage eventual unity, as harden the lines of dissent between Vaudois and Protestant” (p. 207). Because Cameron has no Protestant sources such as consistory records to show how these mountain heretics absorbed the Protestants' attack on auricular confession or accepted justification by faith, the second half of his book, once it gets beyond 1550, is less satisfying. My only other quibble is that pseudo-Reinerius, whom Cameron (as well as Flacius Illyricus) used as a normative guide to official beliefs about Waldensians in these valleys, based his work entirely on evidence from Austria rather than the French or Italian Alps. Otherwise, Cameron has truly given us an iconoclastic, heretical book.

E. WILLIAM MONTER
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WOLFGANG WOLTERS. *Der Bilderschmuck des Dogenpalastes: Untersuchungen zur Selbstdarstellung der Republik Venedig im 16. Jahrhundert*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner. 1983. Pp. 339. DM 246.

Wolfgang Wolters's objective is to examine the figurative decoration of the Doge's Palace from the aspects of the self-image and the political claims that the Venetian Republic intended to convey to official visitors and observers as well as to its citizens. The author, former director of the German Historical Study Center in Venice (1971–74), stresses with the subtitle and in his preface that it was not his intention to write a monograph on the building and its

decoration, a task that he believes cannot yet be successfully undertaken.

The interpretation of the pictorial cycles and the tracing of iconographic developments from the stated vantage point is unprecedented in its comprehensiveness. Wolters meticulously investigated the historical sources, which include, besides standard works such as Francesco Sansovino's *Venetia, città nobilissima* (1581; republished in amplified versions by Stringa in 1604 and Martinoni in 1663), a multitude of panegyric literature and ad hoc publications commenting on historical events of the day. This material is supplemented by the task descriptions for the *Sala dello Scrutinio* and the *Sala del Maggior Consiglio*, which the author includes in the appendix (pp. 307–16).

The organization of the material and the course of investigation is logical and absolutely coherent throughout. The first two chapters are introductory and deal with the building history and the programming of the decorative cycles in the rooms important for their representation: besides the two halls already mentioned, the *Salone delle Quattro Porte*, which connects with the *Anticollegio*; the *Collegio*; the *Sala del Senato*; and the *Concilio dei Dieci*.

Chapter 4 provides the springboard for the discussion of the central issues and is devoted to the foundation of the city and the leading role of the aristocracy. Chapter 5 concentrates on the iconography of the paintings showing the personalities who represented the state and directed its affairs. Most frequent, of course, are the images of the doge, who is seen kneeling in the scene of his investment (pls. 60–64) and in the devotional paintings, which show him imploring the heavenly blessing for the state (pls. 66–79). These were mandatory and had to be commissioned by the doge himself. Chapter 6 is concerned with highlights of the city's history as reflected in the fresco cycles decorating the walls: from the Peace of Venice in 1177 (pl. 157), when the supremacy of the city over the sea was allegedly sanctified by Pope Alexander III, to the triumphant victory of Lepanto in 1571 over the Turkish fleet (pl. 224). This chapter also considers the allegorical paintings in the compartments of the wooden ceiling, designed, as Wolters demonstrates, to justify the political ambitions of the Venetian Republic.

One of the major strengths of Wolters's book is that it offers more than a clear picture of the procedures of the program design, beginning with the three *provveditori* appointed by the senate who were allowed to involve "specialists." The author was also able to regain essential parts of the original program texts through his important discovery that the apparent "descriptions" in Sansovino's history of 1581 were not based on observation but derived from the original manuscripts that outlined the

topics for the painters (p. 37). This allowed Wolters to establish the degree of artistic license taken during the execution and to conclude that the visual conceptualization of the subject matter has to be credited to the painters themselves, since little inspiration could have come from the amazingly rudimentary program descriptions (p. 41).

In conclusion, Wolters's book, the fruit of more than twenty years of research, can be expected to become an indispensable tool for a deeper understanding of the most essential aspects of Venetian painting during the heyday of its development in the sixteenth century.

HELLMUT HAGER

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RAYMOND J. MARAS. *Innocent XI: Pope of Christian Unity*. (The Church and the World, number 1.) Notre Dame, Ind.: Cross Cultural. 1984. Pp. xiv, 356. \$42.75.

The second half of the seventeenth century produced three foils to the giant figure of Louis XIV—William of Orange, Emperor Leopold I, and Pope Innocent XI. William of Orange, for obvious reasons, has received more than adequate attention in English and Leopold I much less than he deserves; Innocent XI has been almost overlooked in monographic literature. It is not that he is unknown to students of the period, yet the one original biography of him in English was published some three hundred years ago. Hence, any up-to-date work about him can expect a welcome reception from scholars. This book by Raymond J. Maras is the first volume published in a series "dedicated to the investigation of Christianity's interaction with the non-Christian world," a definition that embraces our secular culture. Why the book should have found its place there is best left to the discretion of the editors.

The author has done a great deal of conscientious research for the work. He spent some time in the Vatican archives, at the manuscript collection of the Vatican library, and at the Archivio di Stato di Roma. He also used microfilm copies of records at the Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv in Vienna. Most of this material covers the correspondence of papal nuncios. The transcript of the beatification proceedings of Innocent was also richly mined. Substantially, the book may be divided into two uneven sections. About four chapters are given over to a treatment of the larger European canvas, in particular to the last major struggle against the Ottoman empire and its culmination in the relief of Vienna in 1683 and the capture of Buda, and to Innocent's confrontations with Louis XIV over the Gallican liberties, Jansenism, Quietism, and even the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Quite rightly, in my

view, Maras sees the Turkish retreat as the high point of Innocent's pontificate. Two further chapters deal with the pope's rule in the church and the Papal States. The remainder of the book is concerned with background material and a more personal picture of the pontiff.

The book, however, does not deliver what the title would have us expect. It is not truly a biography of Innocent XI; much less does it depict a "pope of Christian unity." Large segments of the chapters on the Ottoman campaign and on Louis XIV are straightforward, old-fashioned diplomatic history, which should come as no surprise in view of the sources the author used; the pope only appears as one of the parties involved. In the matter of the crusade against the Turks, Innocent did not act more decisively than any other pope would have in similar circumstances. As for the author's concept of Christian unity, it smacks more of the Tridentine idea of Christian comprehension than of post-Vatican II accommodation. Indeed, whenever it refers to Innocent the work becomes unabashedly hagiographic, so much so that it cannot be taken as a serious work of history. The author emerges as a partisan advocate for the canonization of his subject. As if excessive bias did not suffice, errors or misapprehensions about the finances and economy of the Papal States and the nature of the Holy Roman Empire abound. Innocent was by no means "the papacy's all-time most successful financial wizard" (pp. 210–11), as subsequent events were to show, and he certainly did not suppress the office of the chamber nor create the public bank of credit of Saint Peter, whatever that might mean. Last but by no means least, with all its other failings, the work has been badly served editorially; misspellings and printing errors stud its pages, and even some footnotes are omitted (p. 284).

Much as I admire the hard work of the author, I regret to say that this volume is not the work on Innocent XI we sorely need.

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JEAN-CLAUDE WAQUET. *De la corruption: Morale et pouvoir à Florence aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*. Paris: Fayard. 1984. Pp. 257. 79 fr.

Corruption, writes Jean-Claude Waquet, has not been treated as a historical problem. Anecdotal narratives of *ancien régime* administration dismiss as "innocent" the acts of men who supposedly did not comprehend the meaning of public functions. Refusing "to think that *all* employees were incapable of understanding the rhetoric of the State" (p. 22) and rejecting any deterministic explanation of their ac-

tions, Waquet seeks to prove that corruption was an endemic feature of administration, that corrupt officials understood the moral issues and had to make peace with their consciences, and that corruption was nonetheless functional for them if not for their employer. He tests his hypotheses on the Grand Duchy of Tuscany under the last Medici and the Habsburgs. His analysis is impressive, eloquently argued, and, at times, convincing.

Waquet has no problem locating corruption. In addition to the scandal of the Abbondanza in 1747, when the supposedly full public granary proved to be virtually empty, he claims to have found fifty-one cases of peculation and numerous instances of routine bribery. This was not compensation for the low salaries of socially inferior officials. Most of the guilty were patricians who year after year diverted moderate sums to their pursuit of an appropriately aristocratic life-style. Thus, they were also reappropriating power from the duke.

The regime treated corruption conventionally—as a moral problem, not as a systemic feature of the social-political order. So too did the guilty individuals. Fearful of detection and shame, they disguised their actions, maintained a calculated propriety, falsified their books, and stilled their consciences with the casuistry so prevalent in law and moral theology. If discovered, however, they still could escape with little damage. Property placed under hereditary *fedecommissi* could not be sequestered by the duke to retrieve his funds. Family and friends intervened for clemency with the duke, who had to weigh the political cost of alienating a number of important people. The Habsburgs tried to bring to Tuscan government a new style—impersonal, centralized, bureaucratic—but they had to learn for themselves the real limits to vigorous enforcement of laws against corruption.

From this tour through the underside of officialdom Waquet draws a political lesson. In this case the state was weak and at the mercy of its servants. But Waquet claims that corruption can be eliminated, although he is not specific about when and where in the modern world this has occurred. He also asserts that it can just as easily return at any moment.

Waquet treats corruption as a form of discourse whose crucial locus is the individual's conscience. So treated, in a manner reminiscent of Michel Foucault, corruption becomes a matter of power. This perspective is enlightening, but it has its limitations. Waquet does not inquire into economic circumstances and does not address Hugh Trevor-Roper's argument that the inadequacy of salaries for their aristocratic recipients justified diversion of state funds to their uses. Rather, just as the discourse of casuistry led to a "*deculpabilisation*" of corruption, Waquet's discourse leads to its "dehistoricization." This is best seen in his treatment of casuistry. He

cites jurists and confessors, not the thoughts of the corrupt. Thus, although probabilism was often condemned by moralists, Waquet finds that "it is probable" [!] that it continued to be of good use "in a society besieged by sin" (p. 174). It may well be probable, but, in view of all the archival material he was able to locate, one would like a marshaling of the evidence. One would also like to know the thinking of the relatively lenient Medici dukes. Habsburg letters of instruction are quoted at length. Is there no way to know if the Medici too perceived their weakness? Were they genuinely interested in uprooting corruption, or did they see a need for it as providing occasions for displaying magnanimity? Were the Medici also "corrupt" in some sense?

Waquet has written a challenging book, exciting to read because of his mastery of the sources and his conceptual approach. It will become essential reading on *ancien régime* administration as well as a contribution to Italian and Florentine history. But, above all, Waquet's forcefully expressed opinions and subtle analyses will provoke considerable debate. Translation of this work into English will greatly increase its impact.

THOMAS KUEHN
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MARCO FOSCARINI. *Necessità della storia e Della perfezione della Repubblica veneziana*. Edited by LUISA RICARDONE. (Il Settecento, number 4.) Milan: Franco Angeli. 1983. Pp. 211. L. 18,000.

Best known for his encyclopedic study of Venetian culture, *Della letteratura veneziana* (1752), Marco Foscarini also pursued a successful political career that led to his election to the dogeship ten months before his death in 1763. Completely aloof from the contemporary debates of the philosophes and only indirectly acquainted with Giambattista Vico, this cultivated conservative was primarily influenced by his Jesuit mentors who encouraged classical studies to instill aristocratic virtue and by the Paduan neo-classicists who hoped to reintroduce the critical techniques of the Renaissance humanists. In his political activities he gradually moved after 1750 to support some very modest economic reforms: he introduced to Venice the rather dubious improvement of stamped paper for use in commercial and legal transactions, and he wrote a long poem to encourage the revival of the coral industry.

The two short works under review are youthful efforts, written before Foscarini began his political career in 1721. He probably prepared them to read before the aristocratic intellectuals who frequented his father's palace, so they constitute useful guides to the political education of a Venetian nobleman.

Both are completely founded on received knowledge.

Necessità della storia rehearses the old humanist commonplace that those who wish to serve a free republic must have a knowledge of history and be able to speak well. *Della perfezione della Repubblica veneziana* is an uncritical collation of the by then rather worn "myth of Venice." Venetian misfortunes had recently been multiplying: the Turks took Crete in 1669 and Morea in 1714, the collapse of Venetian dominion over the Adriatic was obvious by the beginning of the century, and during the War of Spanish Succession both Austria and France repeatedly violated Venice's expensive armed neutrality. In the face of these depressing events, Foscarini chose to look back two hundred years to when Venice survived the onslaught of the League of Cambrai, comparing Venice's experience with that of ancient Rome. In many respects superior to Rome, Venice exemplified Cicero's dictum that good institutions produce virtuous men who maintain the spirit of the laws and thus preserve the republic. Respectful of the laws, honest, temperate, yet desirous of glory, the Venetian nobility had cultivated virtue to such a degree that during the war it attracted favorable fortune. Obviously influenced by Gasparo Contarini and especially Paolo Paruta, Foscarini takes on Jean Bodin and the seventeenth-century deflators of Venice's myth, but he avoids the Machiavellian tradition and ignores all contemporary thinkers save for some brief references to Pierre Bayle. He even leaves out recent Venetian heroes such as Francesco Morosini. Given Foscarini's orientation one can understand how, despite Venice's cosmopolitan printing industry, most Venetian aristocrats remained so stultifyingly smug that their regime attempted few of the "enlightened" reforms proposed and enacted in Naples, Lombardy, Tuscany, Modena, and Parma.

Luisa Ricardone has produced an accurate edition with adequate notes and an excellent introduction; unfortunately, she has not bothered to create an index.

EDWARD MUIR
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FILIPPO SABETTI. *Political Authority in a Sicilian Village*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1984. Pp. xi, 293. \$32.00.

Recent revelations about the persistence of the Sicilian mafia make this book particularly apt. Filippo Sabetti contends that the mafia can be explained neither as the result of inherent weakness in the Sicilian personality or social structure nor as the outgrowth of collusion between landowners and urban capitalists; instead, the "Sicilian problem" is

rooted in the historical process of state making and in the propensity of governments—whether Bourbon, Savoyard, Fascist, or republican—to impose central programs of development on the island.

Sabetti examines a single village in western Sicily (which he calls "Camporano") from the 1750s to today. In discussing the eighteenth century, he focuses on the imposition of Neapolitan Bourbon rule and the conflict between viceregal administration and local baronial jurisdiction. Although the Neapolitan state increased its revenue from Sicily, administrative centralization came at the price of granting further independence to local seigneurs. The aristocracy, however, was hemmed in by covenantal traditions that gave tenants a veto over changes in fiefal administration, and these arrangements became "important features of the Sicilian political tradition" (p. 34). Despite the post-1815 imposition of private property and a free labor market, these traditions persisted after the amalgamation of Sicily into the Kingdom of Italy and provided a counterweight to the growth of private authority based on the new political economy.

Within this framework Sabetti analyzes the rise of a local mafia in Camporano. He speaks of an "iron circle," the continuing clash between the increased private authority of landowners and customary village relationships that focused on consensus and veto. Given the inability of local landholder-dominated government to provide traditional varieties of welfare and security, townspeople were forced to rely on a regime of "profitable altruism," more popularly dubbed "mafia," which, in essence, filled an institutional vacuum created by the imposition of central authority and the neglect by local notables of their previous humanitarian obligations.

Sabetti traces the vicissitudes of this local "outlaw" regime from the "dual regime" (1900–43) and the "dual family compact" (1943–50) to the decline of the local mafia. The "dual regime" era saw the coexistence of established state machinery and the local mafia, which drew sustenance from the town network of early demochristian organizations. After a brief hiatus under Fascism, the local "outlaw" government became the legal authority of the village under postwar Allied occupation. In contrast to this mafia-dominated demochristian regime, a rival "family compact" of the left popular front arose. Sicilian politics makes for strange bedfellows, and the demochristian-mafia drew its support from traditional peasant and artisan groups, whereas the left found its strength among estate agents, professionals, and managers. In recent decades mafia dominance has broken down in the persistent wrangling of demochristian factions, the further imposition of central authority, and the mass migration of local townspeople. In conclusion Sabetti argues that the local populace now has the opportunity to take

control of its own political affairs, but he does not explain how this is to be done.

Writing about the Sicilian mafia has posed some special problems for Sabetti. He fictitiously renamed the town, masked the identity of informants, and concealed the provenance of archival documents and newspaper accounts on which he heavily relies (pp. 273–77). His wish to grant anonymity to the town and its people is understandable, but it undermines normal scholarly usage. Sabetti's account is lively and logically consistent but often repetitious and laden with sociological jargon. We must ask ourselves whether taking an inside look at a local mafia warrants the suspension of normal scholarly disbelief, and we must seriously ponder what is gained and lost in the process.

DONALD HOWARD BELL
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DAVID F. GOOD. *The Economic Rise of the Habsburg Empire, 1750–1914*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1984. Pp. xvi, 309. \$32.00.

Those of us interested in the economic ascendancy of the Habsburg empire are indebted to David F. Good for this well-balanced evaluation that includes original research and an excellent and objective survey of the pertinent literature. Rejecting the view that the economic history of the Habsburg empire is a case study of failure, Good concludes that research in the past twenty years attests "to the emergence of sustained growth in most parts of the Empire well before 1914, as well as to the economic viability of the far-reaching Habsburg realm on the eve of its collapse" (p. 9).

The first two chapters summarize developments from 1750 to 1848 and display the author's ability to synthesize conflicting views and to derive his own conclusions from the evidence. He joins those who posit sustained economic growth as early as the 1830s in the western areas of the Habsburg empire.

The third chapter concerns the revolutions and reforms of 1848. Good is close to those authors who refute the opinion, frequently expressed in both traditional liberal and Marxian literature, that 1848 was a decisive turning point. He concludes that, since economic growth began before 1848, the reforms did not have a significant, measurable impact on the economy of "the western lands of the Empire" (p. 94). This is predicated in large measure on quantitative evidence recently presented by John Komlos. Regardless of whatever objections can be raised concerning the technicalities of Komlos's calculations, one has to question the advisability of Good's application of them strictly to the western

territories, when surely Komlos was predominantly concerned with Hungary.

In the following five chapters Good presents the conclusions derived from his own exhaustive research on the flow of capital, financial institutions, the impact of the 1873 depression, and economic integration and regional development. Here he provides a solid overview, stressing the positive repercussions of the *Ausgleich*.

Good devotes a well-organized and impartial chapter to an issue much discussed among economic historians; namely, the empire's uneven development. Because of its exacerbating effects on preexisting national hostilities, imbalanced growth has long been regarded as a precipitating factor in the empire's collapse, and Good offers evidence demonstrating "a pronounced shift . . . of industrial dynamism from Vienna and Habsburg Austria to the Bohemian lands and impulse for growth began to diffuse eastward" (p. 130). That Bohemia, with its coal and other resources, was the focus of development throughout the second half of the nineteenth century has been acknowledged for some time; in fact, the extent of economic growth there at the turn of the century was not much less than that of France. Likewise, Good's assertion that Hungary experienced substantial economic development is not a revelation, but he could have illuminated the economic development of Galicia, Bukovina, and Dalmatia. Instead, he demonstrates only that "by the turn of the century the effects of sustained economic growth [were] felt in these territories" (p. 157). But what, for instance, accounts for the wide discrepancies in development between the western and the eastern parts of the empire? Is it principally a matter of national autonomy? Hungary attained an intermediary position; even its less-developed areas boasted a standard higher than that found in Galicia and Bukovina. One can still question his statement that the "autonomy of Hungary was not necessary for the diffusion of growth impulses" (p. 161), and he himself later admits that this autonomy did facilitate development.

In chapter 7 Good presents first an informative discussion of the achievements of economic development and then depicts the Austrian economic scene at the turn of the century. Interspersed throughout are insightful observations concerning the organizational transformation of the economy. The emergence of large-scale enterprise, the dissemination of corporative forms, and the extension of links between business and industry are ably depicted. The Hungarian half of the empire, however, is not covered in sufficient depth, perhaps attributable to linguistic barriers, although pertinent literature certainly exists in English.

Finally, the empire's economic development is placed in comparative perspective, and Good reiter-

ates its positive accomplishments. He draws an interesting parallel with U.S. regional disparities after the Civil War to advance the view that the economic backwardness of the southern and eastern portions of the empire is simply a reflection of time-lag. The spread of economic growth came from the West. Its effects are felt in successive stages, relative to a region's geographic proximity to the "center." Having said that, he considers as well social and political instability's weakening effect on the economy. He concludes that the empire's collapse was of a political, not an economic, nature, but one must acknowledge the fact that national differences and fractionalization produced conflicts in spite of (and also because of) existing economic advancements.

Good's assertion that the economic history of the Habsburg empire is not a case study of economic failure is well taken. The economic unity of the region facilitated its advancement. Nevertheless, whatever economic gains were incurred were not sufficient to offset the nationality conflicts. Was it because of the uneven distribution of gain? Perhaps it was. Did they gain anything in economic terms after the collapse of the empire? Certainly not, as was made evident in the interwar period. Economic successes and failures aside, they were almost equally unable to ease the hostilities among the nationalities. People do not live by bread alone.

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HERMANN BROCH. *Hugo von Hofmannsthal and His Time: The European Imagination, 1860-1920*. Translated by MICHAEL P. STEINBERG. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1984. Pp. vii, 207. Cloth \$28.00, paper \$13.95.

Hofmannsthal und seine Zeit has been one of the most valuable books in the field of Austrian intellectual history since it first appeared in the early 1950s. Written by the Austrian novelist Hermann Broch (1886-1951), it is an essay on one of his most influential literary contemporaries, the lyric poet and dramatist Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874-1929). This is not a biography in any ordinary sense, but one that attempts a highly theoretical, symbolic discussion of Hofmannsthal's life and mission. Broch's argument is important not only for Austrian intellectual history but also more generally for our understanding of European art and literature since the late nineteenth century. Despite a certain impenetrability of prose, Broch's book is an interesting and important critique of Western culture, and the complexities of Broch's German come through in the confident, successful translation by Michael P. Steinberg.

The European context of Broch's argument, from Baudelaire to Joyce, is one of its great virtues. Broch portrays Paris and Vienna as the epicenters of a baroque world that lived into the nineteenth century, in theater and opera, and in an art of decoration that was empty of meaning. He argues that the authentic artistic response to the eclecticism and non-style of the second half of the nineteenth century was the pure irrationalism of Manet, Cézanne, and Van Gogh and the *l'art pour l'art* of Baudelaire. The painters and poets of Paris broke with tradition and attempted to discover a genuine style by concentrating on the artistic medium. On the other hand, about 1880 Vienna became the center of the European "value vacuum," the gay apocalypse; it was not so much an art-city as a decoration-city, "the metropolis of kitsch" (p. 81).

Despite his attempt to achieve an ethical art, Hofmannsthal appears here more nearly as a symptom of the non-style Broch criticizes than as a solution. Hofmannsthal feared precisely what Wagner found so delicious—the emptiness of Western values—but his medieval dramas were not entirely different from Wagner's artificial myths of the total opera. Hofmannsthal portrayed a myth that no longer expressed the authentic culture of his audiences, and yet neither he nor his audiences were ready to risk an ethical art that was grounded in the value vacuum they all obscurely sensed. In this regard, Broch contrasts Hofmannsthal with the more radical ethical art of Joyce and of the Austrian satirist Karl Kraus. Broch ends by calling Hofmannsthal's project into question, arguing that his attempt to recall the Austrian everyman to Christianity in the Salzburg Great Theater of the World had "the effect of natural honey produced from artificial honey" (p. 177).

This is a work of a high order. Its size and format make the subject accessible to a wider audience; certainly, it is ideal for courses on modern Austria, but it also deserves to be read by those who are interested in the history of art and literature. Steinberg's introduction is clear, thoughtful, and serious, and it effectively asserts what is distinctive in Broch's position.

DAVID S. LUFT
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MARSHA L. ROZENBLIT. *The Jews of Vienna, 1867–1914: Assimilation and Identity*. (SUNY Series in Modern Jewish History.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1983. Pp. xvii, 284.

Marsha L. Rozenblit's history of the Jews of Vienna in the half-century before World War I will be of great interest to students both of modern Jewish history and of the development of Central and East

Central European society. The Habsburg monarchy had the largest Jewish population of any European country other than Russia in this period, and Vienna became a powerful metropolitan magnet for thousands of Jews from the eastern parts of the monarchy. Although only about one thousand Jews resided in Vienna in 1830, by 1910 they numbered over one hundred seventy-five thousand, or 8.6 percent of the city's total population. With so many Jewish residents, Vienna in effect became a major testing ground for the conditions and limits of Jewish acculturation and of their assimilation into Austro-German society. It was no accident that Vienna became an early and important flashpoint for modern political anti-Semitism. It is thus surprising that up to now the only important books on the Viennese Jews in this period were those of the Jewish businessman and community politician Sigmund Mayer (1917) and the distinguished art historian Hans Tietze (1933). Rozenblit brings to bear on the subject the analytic techniques of recent work in social history. The resulting study is a significant contribution, especially in light of the meager social historical research so far on European Jews and on relations among ethnic groups in general in Central and East Central Europe.

Rozenblit has organized the book topically and devotes the greatest attention to tracing the growth of Vienna's Jewish population, the evolution of its occupational structure, the development of Jewish neighborhoods, trends in intermarriage and conversion, and the formation of Jewish organizational networks. A wide range of published and manuscript demographic sources has been used resourcefully to analyze the growth of the Jewish population and its social mobility. Rozenblit shows convincingly that upwardly mobile Viennese Jews most commonly moved into the ranks of salaried white-collar employees in commerce and industry, not into the *Bürgertum* of property and education. One of the most original portions of the book is the discussion of the creation and persistence of Jewish neighborhoods in various parts of the city. Even while some of Vienna's Jews rose in social status, many of the same individuals chose residences that created new Jewish "clusterings in middle-class Jewish neighborhoods" (p. 88); relatively few converted to Christianity. Here as elsewhere in Central and East Central Europe, Jewish identity was a persisting reality, not a sharply declining one, in the Jews' consciousness and social experience.

The principal shortcomings of the book derive largely from a certain reticence in explaining some of the observed social phenomena and from the limitations of the source material. Some of the most interesting observations about social mobility and residence patterns deserve more explanation and interpretation, even if that must be somewhat

speculative. In general, Rozenblit treats social phenomena, particularly the more readily quantifiable aspects, more thoroughly than the more difficult questions of group attitudes and values. Thus, the discussion of the character and extent of the Jews' acculturation is incomplete, and the author makes no great effort to deepen our conceptual or theoretical understanding of the broader processes of assimilation among European Jews. Rozenblit's research strategy may cause her to underestimate somewhat the actual extent of Jewish assimilation in Vienna: there is relatively little discussion of social interaction between Jews and Christians other than intermarriage or of Jewish participation in voluntary associations and political activity outside the Jewish community. Treating these various unresolved issues, however, might easily have required a study twice as long as this one, and they should not be allowed to detract from the considerable achievements of the book at hand.

GARY B. COHEN
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JUDIT GARAMVÖLGYI. *Betriebsräte und sozialer Wandel in Österreich, 1919–1920: Studien zur Konstituierungsphase der österreichischen Betriebsräte*. (Studien und Quellen zur Österreichischen Zeitgeschichte, number 5.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1983. Pp. 296.

It is well known that in 1917 workers' and soldiers' councils spontaneously took over much of the political power in Russia and that Lenin later affirmed this strategy. It is less well known that similar workers' and soldiers' councils emerged in the brief revolutions (if they can be called that) in Germany and Austria in 1919–20.

In this technical and meticulous work Judit Garamvölgyi has undertaken to show how the trade unions and the new republican government absorbed the council movement in Austria. The first hundred pages give a careful review of familiar events: the defeat of the Habsburgs, the division of the successor states, the economic collapse, the dependence on the victors, the tenuous acceptance of democracy, and the survival of three political camps—the Social Democratic, the Catholic, and the German National.

The author is at home in describing economic matters like unemployment, inflation, and the plight of the banks. When she shifts her theme to "the decline of the system of values," she is not able to deal with such firm data. Her judgments and attitudes replace statistics. Some statements are questionable, such as the claim that Catholicism lost influence, because no data are offered to substantiate it. Could she have shown a decline in church attendance or membership? Were church schools

closed? In light of the comeback of the Christian Social party and the impressive career of prelate Ignaz Seipel, one wonders how accurate this judgment is.

Readers may be disappointed that the book does not tell them anything about Friedrich Adler as the worker's hero or about the inner workings of the councils themselves. What she focuses on is the parliamentary committee that attempted to nationalize the economy. There one of the subcommittees dealt with the inclusion of the workers' councils in the state structure.

Otto Bauer is the key figure in the book. Both he and Max Adler wrestled with the role of the councils. They each claimed that the Soviet idea of using the councils as a means to seize power was appropriate only in developing countries, not in an industrialized state like Austria where the economy was intertwined with the international market. Bauer foresaw a gradual nationalization of industry and a useful role for the councils, but he rejected any revolutionary break: the process of nationalization could not interrupt productivity.

The editor suggests that this book includes a look at social history. The work is not, however, the social history of the *Annales* school. Garamvölgyi has limited her research strictly to traditional sources—parliamentary records, newspapers, and economic data. Perhaps the term "labor history" might be more appropriate. Even so, one is caught in the frustrations of the endless give and take of the committee hearings and wishes for some account of the action out in the councils. As is true with many dissertations, the author stays too close to the documents.

Following a detailed examination of the *Betriebsrätegesetz* (Industrial Council Law), the author turns to a more analytical effort. She is interested in the conflict theory of Otto Neuloh and uses it to help the reader understand the very minimal results of the whole movement.

DOUGLAS D. ALDER
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KALERVO HOVI. *Alliance de revers: Stabilization of France's Alliance Policies in East Central Europe, 1919–1921*. (Annales Universitatis Turkuensis, series B, Humaniora, number 163.) Translated by KAIJA LONDON and GARY LONDON. Turku, Finland: Turku University. 1984. Pp. 135.

This book is concerned with French policy toward the countries between Germany and Russia during the post-Versailles period. The author, Kalervo Hovi, is primarily interested in whether the main thrust of French policy toward Poland, the Baltic countries, and the Danubian area was anti-German

or anti-Russian. His answer is that French policy in this area was directed chiefly against Germany. This argument is supported by a good deal of evidence drawn primarily, but not exclusively, from the French archives. The French assumed that the "eastern barrier" that they hoped would take shape in this region would, in fact, limit Germany's power by, among other things, preventing German collaboration with the Soviet Union.

The view that an "eastern barrier" could function in this way is one that the author accepts rather uncritically. One might argue, however, that the creation of such a barrier would have exactly the opposite effect. On the one hand, the existence of an independent Poland, hostile to both Germany and Russia, would tend to draw those two powers together. On the other hand, a common Russo-German border could be a source of tension: if there were no Poland to function as a buffer, the Germans and the Soviets might be worried mainly about each other and thus be more inclined to place a higher value on good relations with Britain and France. From the standpoint of the Western powers, an "eastern barrier" limited their ability to play off Germany and Russia against each other and thus did not make good geopolitical sense. How, then, is French policy toward this region to be explained?

This is the kind of question that Hovi does not deal with, and, indeed, it is the kind of question for which the answer is not to be found primarily in the diplomatic archives. But he has gone through the archives and the secondary literature carefully, and he presents what he has found. French policy toward the region is placed in the context of general French foreign policy at the time, and Hovi, in line with some recent scholarship in the field, pays special attention to the role of economic factors. As a result, the book, though limited in its analytical reach, is a solid, though not totally reliable, monograph. J. M. Keynes, for example, was not a "high official" of the British Treasury when he published *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (p. 24), and the presidential election that Clemenceau lost was not a "straw-vote" but a real and binding ballot (p. 20).

Such errors, however, may have something to do with the inadequate translation of the book into English. Here, for example, is a sentence from its final page: "This was illustrated most clearly in the culmination of The Russo-Polish war, when 'cordon sanitaire' of France's previous plans had no significance." One raises this point regretfully, since we should be grateful that foreign scholars like Hovi choose to publish their work in English and a poor translation is hardly the author's fault. But there is no getting around the fact that the poor translation places an unnecessary burden on the reader.

MARC TRACHTENBERG
University of Pennsylvania

KALERVO HOVI. *Interessensphären im Baltikum: Finnland im Rahmen der Ostpolitik Polens, 1919–1922.* (Studia Historica, number 13.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen. 1984. Pp. 180.

This book by Kalervo Hovi is an outgrowth of his two previous studies. In his second book he pointed out the difficulties of a researcher who lives in a small country facing language barriers and who often lacks adequate source materials. Surprisingly, Hovi has not used Swedish archival collections but has done some work in the Danish archives, which offer less material in his field of study. He obviously does not know that copies of the correspondence between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Latvian legations are preserved at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace and that a portion of the Estonian archives is in Stockholm. His list of published sources is also somewhat meager, including a number of works by nonhistorians but omitting many important studies, such as those by Bronis Kaslas and Edgar Anderson.

In spite of these shortcomings Hovi has done quite a good job tracing Finnish-Polish relations during the early years of independence after World War I. To emphasize Finland as an important power to be reckoned with in modern Europe, Hovi makes numerous unnecessary references to that country's less fortunate neighbors to the south—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, which the Soviet Union occupied in 1940 and again in 1944–45—as small and insignificant "incidents in world history." The grim facts are that Finland escaped the fate of the Baltic states by enjoying a less important geographical position and had a population only half that of the Baltic states. During the many centuries when Finland was a colony of Sweden, Lithuania was a powerful grand duchy, at one time covering the territory from the Baltic to the Black Sea; Latvia and Estonia formed the important Livonian Confederation, but the western part of Latvia was later the Duchy of Courland with overseas possessions in West Africa and the West Indies. Hovi's thesis of a possible partition of the Baltic states into spheres of interests between Poland and Finland is not convincing. Finland, with three million inhabitants, could never be considered a serious partner of Poland, with thirty million inhabitants. Although some Estonians considered Finland the "big brother," others did not see any future in a Finnish-Estonian union when the Gulf of Finland separated them and a menacing Soviet Union had already partly digested the Finno-Ugrian populations of Karelia and Ingria.

The history of the interwar period in the states between the Russian colossus and Germany clearly demonstrates the silliness of many East-Central European leaders with their overblown ambitions, territorial expansionism, feeling of false security, and

exaggerated sense of the importance of their nations in comparison to their neighbors. The lessons were terrible. Only a few statesmen, notably, Zygfrids Meierovics, recognized the simple fact that the relationship of the entire string of nations from Finland to Romania should have been based on the threat from their huge eastern neighbor and on complete equality, respect, and sincere cooperation. A few overambitious Polish statesmen with no sense of reality and no consideration for the feelings of other nations share particular blame for the events leading to the debacle of all of these nations, but some French and British statesmen are also not blameless. Hovi's book reveals new information, but much of his story is already well known in the Western world.

EDGAR ANDERSON
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STANISLAUS A. BLEJWAS. *Realism in Polish Politics: Warsaw Positivism and National Survival in Nineteenth-Century Poland*. (Yale Russian and East European Publications.) New Haven: Yale Concilium on International and Area Studies. 1984. Pp. xii, 312.

Stanislaus A. Blejwas has made a valuable contribution to the understanding of the tradition of realism in Polish politics in this appropriately titled study that focuses on Warsaw positivism, one late nineteenth-century aspect of Polish realism, which the author examines in a broader historical perspective.

Blejwas defines realism in Polish politics as cooperation with a dominating foreign power for the purpose of national survival, and he characterizes "organic work," one important component of political realism, as rational self-defense. In the early chapters he amply substantiates that precursors of organic work (for example, Stanislaw Staszic, Edward Raczyński, and others) existed in the period 1795–1830. He provides evidence that coexistence of organic work with early nineteenth-century Romantic notions of armed insurrection was appropriate for national survival. Organic work, Blejwas proposes, found its first theoretical expression before 1864 in the writings of the economist Józef Supiński, and the January Insurrection (1863) served to accentuate an already existing current in Polish thinking. His early chapters set the tone for the author's skillful exposition, in the five succeeding chapters, of the genesis, zenith, and decline of Warsaw positivism, 1864–90.

Warsaw positivists favored realistic economic and cultural organic work to preserve and develop Polish national identity in an environment of fierce, all-encompassing Russification. Blejwas demonstrates that organic work permeated the writings of Adam Wiślicki and Alexander Światochowski and

the pages of *Przegląd Tygodniowy* (The Weekly Review). It found expression in the literature of Bolesław Prus, Eliza Orzeszkowa, and others and in numerous slogans that represented the positivists' call for comprehensive educational and social reforms. Education was to be an integrating tool, serving as the basis for national prosperity and rebirth. Social objectives proposed making peasants, the middle class, Jews, and women active participants in the national community. Sadly, the Warsaw positivists failed to achieve their apolitical program.

Undermined by inherent weaknesses and external developments, positivist influence waned by 1890 as the struggle for national survival found expression in politicized mass movements inspired by socialism, radical populism, and modern nationalism.

Blejwas concludes that Warsaw positivists contributed, by their apolitical activities, to the successful resistance to the integration of the Polish nation into alien state organisms. In this respect they represented realism in nineteenth-century Polish politics. The fundamental problem of national survival and resistance to integration into a foreign state has recurred and persists in the twentieth century, as has the positivist response. In the current Polish crisis the successors of the Warsaw positivists again address the issues of positivism, organic work, and realism.

Overall, this impressively documented, perceptively written study demonstrates effectively the pervasiveness of political realism in modern Polish history and current affairs. It also provides valuable insights into the genesis, nature, and complexities of Warsaw positivism in the years 1864–90. This informative, readable study is highly recommended to the general reader as well as to the specialist.

JOAN S. SKURNOWICZ
Loras College

BARBARA SASSE. *Die Sozialstruktur Böhmens in der Frühzeit: Historische-archäologische Untersuchungen zum 9.–12. Jahrhundert*. Foreword by WOLFGANG H. FRITZE. (Berliner Historische Studien, number 7; Germania Slavica, number 4.) Berlin: Duncker und Humblot. 1982. Pp. 380. DM 140.

Innovative medievalists are now incorporating archaeological materials into research on traditional written sources and using computers to manipulate large amounts of data. Barbara Sasse's study of social stratification in Bohemia from the ninth to twelfth centuries, originally a dissertation at Berlin's Free University, uses both of these new techniques.

Sasse wants to learn the degree of continuity in social leadership between the early medieval Bohemia of small regional lordships and the developed Přemyslid state of the twelfth century and begins by

describing in detail the material and verbal sources available. The two types of sources are then explored separately. Among the former, principal attention is devoted to quantitative and regional analysis of 2,118 (p. 24) or 2,218 (p. 25) individual graves from the Middle *Castrum* (ca. 875–950) and the Later *Castrum* (ca. 950–1100) archaeological periods. Particular burial rites and grave goods are taken to indicate social rank. The parallel investigation of written texts considers social groupings documentable for 850–1000 and 1000–1200, with concentration in the latter period given to 4,000 individuals named in charters and to the geography of the earliest recorded great landholdings.

The conclusions show Sasse's consideration of the two types of evidence to be more comparative than integrated. By about 950 inhumation had become a norm, but Christianity had not yet seriously reduced the frequency of grave goods; objects in burials reveal an economic but not necessarily a legal differentiation of the Czech population. Thereafter, as Christianity came to affect the treatment of the dead, individual graves were distinguished only by their proximity to a sacred site (church or altar). Early texts identify princely families, their households, a stratum of *nobiles*, and the unfree population as elements of Czech society; after 1000 more precise terminology distinguishes among the Přemyslid house, free *nobiles* (of various ranks) and *ignobiles*, and several kinds of unfree dependents. Yet regional variations mark both sorts of evidence. The Přemyslid heartland around Prague developed steadily under that family's control, and areas of northeast Bohemia always lacked evidence of a local elite, but in the northwestern and eastern regions seized by the Přemyslids an earlier stratification gave way to the first large aristocratic lordships.

In this highly inductive book specific data from graves and texts is classified, added, and cross-tabulated to yield descriptive findings. Maps and graphs give the data visual impact, but in the absence of statistical tables (for which the author apologizes, pleading the costs of production) the discussion is often hard to follow. The decision to confine close analysis of material evidence to that from burials is arbitrary and unfortunate, since Czech archaeologists have done important work on *castra* and a few settlement sites and since the verbal evidence is fully covered. Similar constrictions inhibit Sasse from seeing her work in a broader European context, as when she puzzles about tenth- and eleventh-century Bohemian *milites* without reference to well-developed discussions of this group elsewhere. What begins, therefore, as a model of innovative analysis on difficult and far-reaching issues ends with useful but disappointingly limited interpretive results.

RICHARD C. HOFFMANN
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IVO BANAC. *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1984. Pp. 452. \$35.00.

On the dust jacket of Ivo Banac's study of the origins, history, and politics of the national question in Yugoslavia, Peter Sugar proclaims that "Professor Banac's treatment of this very emotional problem is scholarly, free of sentiment, and remarkably objective. His erudition is overwhelming." If anything, Sugar's praise is understated. Banac has succeeded entirely in his effort to look at the national question in Yugoslavia with "a clearer eye," to "provide the first complete study" of its origins, and to write a "genetic study" that will constitute a "learned introduction" to the subject (pp. 12–13).

Banac has structured his book, which is a felicitously rewritten and enormously expanded recasting of his doctoral dissertation, around the unification of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in 1918 and the creation of Yugoslavia's new constitution by 1921. But the real content of the book is an elaboration of the myriad of ideologies, parties, and individuals that created this anomalous multinational state on the principle of nationality. Banac does not explain this structural contradiction through an elaborate theoretical framework. He stands firmly in the line of the great ideational interpreters of nationalism in Eastern Europe who believe in the ability of national ideologies to shape events through the creation and transformation of consciousness. But Banac knows well the dangers of analyzing ideology separately from the realities of day-to-day politics or isolated from the historical trajectories of the groups involved. The greatest strength of his book is the thoroughness and accuracy with which he recounts the historical background, personal factors, and ideological structures within which Yugoslav politicians worked.

Naturally, Banac spends the bulk of his efforts discussing Serbian and Croatian politics, since Croatian resistance to the centralizing mission of the Serbs was the leitmotiv of interwar Yugoslavia. These discussions are original and absorbing. Who else has dared to point out, correctly, that Nikola Pašić was not a man of sufficiently broad vision (p. 158)? Where else has the Croat peasant revolt of 1920 been analyzed (pp. 248–60)? Even more useful for understanding the complexities of the situation are detailed discussions of the less important movements, such as the Montenegrin Greens, the Yugoslav Muslim Organization, and the Slovene People's party. And, most useful of all, for the first time we have descriptions of the short-sighted and venal Serbian policies in Macedonia and Kosovo after 1912 and the inevitable reactions against them.

Along with its other virtues, the book is a pleasure to read. Banac has flair. Two examples will have to

suffice: "Genuine frontiers between distinct civilizations speak with the voice of menace" (p. 59); "[Svetozar] Pribičević's life was a sort of witches' prayer, dispensing curses or blessings depending on whether it was read forward or backward" (p. 170).

In scope, detail, and presentation, this book finds few equals in the literature of Southeast Europe. It is simply one of the finest studies of the region that Western scholarship has produced.

GALE STOKES
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RICHARD J. CRAMPTON. *Bulgaria, 1878-1918: A History*. (East European Monographs, number 138.) Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1983. Pp. x, 580. \$35.00.

This impressive scholarly work by Richard J. Crampton is a detailed narrative history of the emergence and construction of modern Bulgaria between 1878 and 1918. The book is a product of extensive, meticulous research in Austrian and British archival materials and in specialized studies, both Bulgarian and foreign. The result is the best history of Bulgaria in English and one of the most satisfactory one-volume studies in any language.

Crampton shows that the issue of a large nationally coherent Bulgarian state dominated Bulgaria's domestic and foreign policies. It not only influenced constitutional political party formation but also affected national defense and economic policies and even contributed to the successes and failures of Prince Alexander of Battenberg and Tsar Ferdinand, who were compelled to abdicate. Alexander's conservatism and lack of political tact alienated the liberals and a segment of the army; his inability to establish cordial relations with the Russians cost him his throne. According to the author, Ferdinand's regime was dependent on his manipulative approach to politics. His political arrangements and tactics, which strengthened the executive at the expense of the legislature, created many enemies, and his adventurous foreign policy, especially in 1913 and during the world war, discredited his regime. Crampton claims that the Bulgarian people, dissatisfied with the old parties and their "party-political trafficking in office and client system," turned to the new mass movements of the agrarians and the socialists.

The author rightly recognizes the important role of Russia in the liberation of Bulgaria and shows that Russian representatives in Bulgaria did not always work in unison or behave properly toward Bulgarian officials. Some Bulgarian politicians, like Stefan Stambulov, became so disenchanted with Russian policies that they formed a party of Rus-

sophobes. But the Russians always had a strong following in Bulgaria even when diplomatic relations between Sofia and St. Petersburg were severed. Many Bulgarians were convinced that they needed Russia's support for the unification of the Bulgarian lands and domestic political tranquility.

Those sections dealing with social and economic life are the most interesting and useful parts of this study. Crampton includes more than two dozen tables and charts showing demographic and economic trends. He argues that, although Bulgarian society changed, the most significant feature of the period was the country's social stability. This had both negative and positive consequences. Forty years after liberation, Bulgaria was still a peasant society. Agriculture, based on the small proprietor and the availability of land vacated by the departure of Muslims, continued to depend on a small variety of crops. Although by 1912 the country had established a basic industrial infrastructure, industry was not integrated with agriculture and still depended to an excessive degree on foreign raw materials.

This social stability produced social conservatism, and the fundamental division between village and town deepened, with the peasantry mistrusting the bureaucracy, the politicians, and the intelligentsia. This, the author states, led to a separation between state and nation. Such a predicament allowed the prince to interfere in the formation of governments and permitted the military and the politicians to enrich themselves at the peasants' expense. The weakness of the bourgeoisie and the strategic objectives of the state, which envisioned reunification of all Bulgarians, resulted in the retardation of the country's modernization.

The arrangement worked out between the tsar and the politicians created a degree of political stability but at a price. It became an obstacle to the development of genuine administrative efficiency and political and civil liberties. Moreover, it did not always facilitate the struggle for national unity. Many foreign and domestic policies alienated Macedonian Bulgarians from the Bulgarian state, and the failure of the tsar and politicians to align Bulgaria during the world war with the Allies led to another tragedy for the nation.

The book has some important omissions. The unification of Bulgaria is not accorded the significance that is its due. One cannot fully understand the process of nation-building without reference to Bulgarian accomplishments in the literary, educational, cultural, and religious realms. Had such aspects of Bulgarian history been examined, Bulgarian society would not appear as static as it seems from the social stability of the peasantry. Crampton fails to show the process whereby former revolutionaries and idealists became corrupt politicians and bureaucrats. Had Bulgarian developments been

placed in a more general Balkan context, the book would have been of even greater value. Despite these problems this is a significant, indispensable, and balanced account of Bulgarian history between 1878 and 1918.

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ROBERT E. JONES. *Provincial Development in Russia: Catherine II and Jakob Sievers*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1984. Pp. xi, 255. \$32.00.

This invaluable little book describes the work of Jakob Sievers during the period 1764–81 when he was governor of Novgorod (that is, the area of Novgorod, Tver, Olonets, and Pskov). As Robert E. Jones portrays him, Sievers was a remarkably dedicated administrator who sacrificed both family and health to devote himself fully to duty. Eschewing the delights of St. Petersburg and the company of his wife and children, he spent his days and nights riding around his swampy *guberniia* bestirring the inhabitants to improve their condition by engaging in productive enterprises and gaining enlightenment. Catherine II recognized Sievers's worth, and, although he lost much time doing battle with her favorites in the central government, chiefly with Aleksandr Viazemskii, the empress gave him her full confidence. She swallowed sharp reproaches from him on those occasions when she sided with his opponents, and she consulted with him at length when she wrote her major laws. Sievers had much to do with the drafting of the general administrative reform of 1775.

Jones's study does not extend to the level of towns and villages; apparently, the Soviets did not grant him access to local archives (p. 4). Nevertheless, the book offers wonderful insight into the workings of the tsarist government. One sees Sievers bravely setting out to compile information about his territory and gradually discovering what he could and could not do to introduce European notions of law and society. What the hard-pressed governor could not do was cover all of his enormous territory adequately, and, therefore, he elected to focus his attention on only one sector, the area around Tver and Novgorod. He found that the central offices in St. Petersburg put even greater obstacles in his way than did local geography. Viazemskii and others were making a serious effort to bring European-style regularity to the government as a whole, and they naturally insisted that Sievers conform to their procedures and protocols. In Sievers's eyes this only meant a lot of red tape, and the erstwhile Westernizing governor continually appealed to the empress to use her autocratic power to free him from the

burdens of Viazemskii's Westernizing. Ultimately, Catherine went along. She consciously sacrificed the aim of systematizing her government to further good works here and there. Jones considers Catherine's support of Sievers to have been wise and practical, and this verdict is convincing. This is the tack that all Russia's Westernizing rulers have had to take. One wishes that more of them would receive the perceptive treatment that Jones has given Catherine.

There is a surprise ending. In the last chapter, Jones switches from the swamps of Novgorod to a pan-Russian view, and suddenly Sievers's work takes on the appearance of a rather small sideshow. In 1781, with Grigorii Potemkin clearly in the ascendancy, Catherine decided to commit the resources of the empire to a mighty effort to settle the Black Sea coast, and Sievers found himself upstaged. He resigned in a huff and went off to write about Catherine's failure to see where the empire's true interests lay. As Jones sees it, however, Sievers and the other Westernizing statesmen who denounced Catherine and Potemkin for their "wild schemes" did not understand the Westernizing of Russia as well as Catherine did.

GEORGE YANEY
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M. D. KURMACHEVA. *Krepostnaia intelligentsiia Rossii, vtoraiia polovina XVIII–nachalo XIX veka* [The Serf Intelligentsia of Russia from the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century to the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century]. Moscow: Nauka. 1983. Pp. 352. 2 r. 20 k.

Prerevolutionary Russian scholars of the eighteenth-century intelligentsia devoted their attention primarily to the educated nobility and its ideas. Their Soviet counterparts, guided by Lenin's "two cultures" thesis (which posits a pervasive conflict between the outlooks of the ruling and exploited classes), find themselves ill at ease with all but those nobles who can be categorized, like N. I. Novikov and D. J. Fonvizin, as liberal precursors of the Decembrists or, like A. N. Radishchev, as revolutionary democrats, forerunners of N. G. Chernyshevskii. Soviet historians have accordingly searched for an intelligentsia of more acceptable class origins to reflect the interests of the exploited masses. M. M. Shrange has suggested the existence of a "democratic" intelligentsia comprised of those outside the officially sanctioned ranks, neither noble nor peasant by birth, but his findings are suspect at best. Now M. D. Kurmacheva has turned to the most exploited elements of imperial Russian society, the serfs and church peasants, in quest of those who might qualify: writers, poets, sculptors, doctors, actors, musi-

cians, engineers, and the like. The author ties the emergence of this intelligentsia to the disintegration of the feudal order and the rise of the capitalist one, which she places in the second half of the eighteenth century. She argues that the historical mission of those who managed to acquire an education, however rudimentary, was to heighten the class consciousness of their illiterate brethren and to express their hostility toward serfdom and autocracy, the twin sources of their exploitation.

Kurmacheva opens her study with a perfunctory historiographical introduction, and a general discussion of the origins and development of the serf intelligentsia follows. Then comes what is perhaps the most useful section, one that focuses on those serfs who left autobiographical accounts. Here we learn that a mere sixteen accounts survive, only five of which were composed before the emancipation of 1861 (and of the five, two were the product of police interrogation). Next, the author examines the lives and works of serf writers, engineers, and inventors, stressing the difficulties they experienced in having their achievements brought to the public's attention. She concludes with an analysis of petitions and manifestos that grew out of peasant protests and uprisings. Her discovery that these petitions and manifestos were authored by literate peasants will surprise no one.

Her application of the term "intelligentsia" is broad even by Soviet standards: it accommodates any serf who acquired literacy or even a specialized skill, excepting only those who entered the church—they presumably sided with feudal oppression. But the materials she presents fail to substantiate her thesis. First, few of those individuals she discusses had any meaningful contact with the daily life of the agricultural serf; almost all were children of house serfs, bailiffs, or musicians. Second, the writings they produced for the most part date to the mid-nineteenth century and, thus, fall outside of the chronological limits established by the author's title and thesis. Finally, Kurmacheva presents little evidence that the serf intelligentsia contributed to the formation of an antifeudal outlook within feudal society. Multiple references to Lenin notwithstanding, most of these serfs simply sought to take advantage of their talents to improve or escape their servile status. Granted, some portrayed peasant life sympathetically or incorporated folk motifs into their music. But so too did conservative nobles, and they did it better. In the final analysis, as the author admits: "Serf writers shared the prejudices, illusions and confusion typical of the peasantry. The peculiarities of the peasant mentality emerged clearly when it was a matter of tsarist authority or faith in 'the good master'" (p. 314). Perhaps one of these days an ambitious Soviet scholar will explain just why prej-

udices, illusions, and confusion survived so long in such harsh conditions.

DAVID GRIFFITHS

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S. L. CHERNOV. *Rossia na zavershaiushchem etape vostochnogo krizisa, 1875–1878 gg.* [Russia in the Concluding Stage of the Eastern Crisis, 1875–78]. Moscow: Moscow University. 1984. Pp. 143. 1 r. 20 k.

In 1937 B. H. Sumner wrote in the preface to *Russia and the Balkans, 1870–1880* that "no final estimate of Russian foreign policy" could be made "until more has been made known from the Russian foreign office archives than is at present the case." Since 1937 Soviet historians and archivists have made useful contributions to the study of Russian Balkan policy during the 1870s by publishing collections of documents, memoirs, books, and articles based on materials from Soviet archives. Sumner's book remains the standard study on the subject in any language, but it is clear that some of his conclusions and interpretations now require modification or revision. Pan-Slavism, for example, would seem not to have been as important as Sumner assumed at the time he wrote his book.

S. L. Chernov's book concerns the Treaty of San Stefano and the Congress of Berlin. He competently summarizes the results of previous Soviet and Bulgarian research and adds interesting new details concerning the discussion of Balkan issues in Russian ruling circles at the end of 1877 and during the first seven months of 1878. His interpretation of Russian Balkan policy at the time is, however, simple-minded and tendentious: the "Russian program formulated by the Petersburg cabinet at the end of 1877 and the beginning of 1878 and given final form in the Treaty of San Stefano corresponded to the historical interests of the Balkan peoples and consequently hindered the carrying out of the expansionist and aggressive plans of the European powers, mainly, England and Austria-Hungary" (p. 65). This interpretation of Russian policy is based neither on a critical, systematic examination of evidence taken from Russian archives nor on a careful study of the evidence available in the works of "bourgeois" historians. Needless to say, Chernov has not worked in diplomatic archives located in London, Paris, and Vienna, while "bourgeois" historians interested in studying Russian diplomacy in the Balkans during the 1870s are still excluded from Soviet diplomatic archives.

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THEOFANIS GEORGE STAVROU, editor. *Art and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Russia*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1983. Pp. xix, 268. \$27.00.

Theofanis George Stavrou's anthology is divided into two parts: the first provides a broad perspective of Russian culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; the second describes and analyzes Russian art and society in the same two centuries.

Chapter 1, Nicholas V. Riasanovsky's "Notes on the Emergence and Nature of the Russian Intelligentsia," is a trenchant and convincing, albeit controversial, analysis of the rise and meaning of the Russian intelligentsia in the nineteenth century. Riasanovsky identifies two traits that are basic to the intelligentsia: "education and a certain critical or at least independent stance" (p. 3). He carefully analyzes the development of an educated public created by Peter I that was closely connected with and largely under the tutelage of the regime in the eighteenth century and first quarter of the nineteenth century. His thesis takes exception to Soviet as well as Western views, especially to those of Marc Raeff, that indicate an alienation of the gentry from the state in the eighteenth century.

The second chapter, Sidney Monas's "St. Petersburg and Moscow as Cultural Symbols," juxtaposes the two capitals that have come to represent the struggle between the Slavophiles and the Westernizers in the nineteenth century. For the Slavophiles, the patriarchal, familial spirit of old Rus resided in Moscow. In the golden age of the Russian novel, St. Petersburg, not Moscow, was considered the only real city. Moscow remained, like the countryside, a family locale. Monas's major conclusions are well supported with evidence from both primary and secondary sources.

Chapter 3, Donald Fanger's "On the Russianness of the Russian Nineteenth-Century Novel," is both an attack and a careful analysis—an attack on such Western writers and critics as Max Beerbohm and Virginia Woolf and their relatively naive conception of the "Russian soul" and an analysis of the importance of form as opposed to content, a belief that united most eminent Russian writers and poets of the golden age. Fanger emphasizes the importance of the open-ended free novel, for example, *Eugene Onegin*, which made Alexandr Pushkin's work paradigmatic for Nikolai Gogol, Mikhail Lermontov, Fedor Dostoevskii, and Lev Tolstoi. Fanger's article, like all others in this volume, is brief but, at the same time, pithy, insightful, and extraordinarily well documented.

Malcolm Hamrick Brown's "Native Song and National Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century Russian Music" comprises the fourth chapter. His path-breaking article analyzes the interrelationship between Russian folk music and nationalism during

the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, that is, before Mikhail Glinka's *A Life for the Tsar* (1836), which represents a cultural watershed. Besides complete documentation, Brown has included an appendix of Russian cultural personalities of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Part 2 is introduced by S. Frederick Starr's "Russian Art and Society, 1800–1850" (chap. 5). Starr argues convincingly that one cannot speak of a "Manichean dualism" in the realities of art and society in nineteenth-century Russia. Thus, academic art should not be juxtaposed to free art, the tsarist state to "society," classicism to romanticism, cosmopolitanism to nationalism; rather, they were intertwined. With respect to Official Nationalism in art and architecture, Starr indicates that it actually preceded the initiation of the doctrine by Nicholas I. The split between art and society was opened only by 1835. In this respect Starr presents a cultural analogy to Riasanovsky's earlier hypothesis concerning the intelligentsia.

John E. Bowl's "Russian Painting in the Nineteenth Century" (chap. 6) emphasizes the tendentious and transformative purpose of the Russian artist rather than the formal or aesthetic qualities of his art. The dichotomy of Westernism and Russianism, discussed by other contributors to the anthology, is clearly portrayed by Bowl in his juxtaposition of Karl Bruilov and Aleksei Venetsianov. Bowl notes the superiority of drawing to painting in Russia in the nineteenth century and points to Raphael as the model for Bruilov and Ivanov. The "Wanderers" of the 1870s, whose most successful exponent was Il'ia Repin, viewed art as a medium for social criticism, a view that made Russian realism avant-garde. Bowl's arguments are documented with carefully selected sources and illustrations.

Joshua C. Taylor's thoughtful essay, "Russian Painters and the Pursuit of Light" (chap. 7), is a pithy analysis of the Italian influence on Russian artists. In Italy, he argues, art became nature rather than the projection of the human intellect; this transpired through the evocation of light.

As in the Riasanovsky and Starr articles, Elizabeth Kridl Valkenier's "The Intelligentsia and Art" (chap. 8) provides a synthesis of the general questions concerning the relationship of the intelligentsia and society to art, especially during the period 1840–90 when the intelligentsia was the conscience of the nation. Valkenier characterizes each of the intervening decades with an appropriate theme exemplified by a specific artist. She emphasizes, however, the fundamental Russianism of each period and the artist's representativeness as opposed to his social didacticism. Her arguments are forcefully presented with ample evidence for her main thesis and its corollaries.

In chapter 9, the eighteenth as well as the early

nineteenth centuries are the scope for Albert Schmidt's "Architecture in Nineteenth-Century Russia: The Enduring Classic." Beginning with the transmission of romantic classicism from France to Russia by the emigre architect Thomas de Thomon (who designed the St. Petersburg bourse), Schmidt characterizes classicism during the time of Catherine the Great as a vast Potemkin village. Martial in character, imperial classicism ended in the 1830s and 1840s, only to reemerge in new forms under Stalin.

As with architecture so with sculpture, as Janet Kennedy shows in chapter 10, "The Neoclassical Ideal in Russian Sculpture." Kennedy, in a brief but convincing article, points to the Russian Academy and its sojourners in Rome as the major influences on neoclassical sculpture in Russia from the eighteenth through the first half of the nineteenth century. By mid-century, she argues, there was a new degree of naturalism, nationalism, and Byzantinism in Russian sculpture, which lost its preeminent place in the Russian Academy in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Paul Schaeffer's "A Survey of Trends in the Russian Decorative Arts of the First Half of the Nineteenth Century" (chap. 11) is a narrative description of the high quality of certain Russian art forms—such as niello, glass, porcelain, and lapidary and lacquer wares—that were equal to those of the West during the reigns of Alexander I and Nicholas I but that declined during the second half of the century.

Chapter 12, John E. Bowl's "Nineteenth-Century Russian Caricature," is a witty analysis of the combination of graphic skills, the traditional Russian art of the *lubok*, and the development of the "antiesthetic" that constituted this Russian art form. It emphasizes the gifts of such artists as Ivanov and makes certain parallels between the deliberate misplacement of emphasis in both caricature and literature.

The final chapter, Alison Hilton's "'Russian Folk Art' and 'High Art' in the Early Nineteenth Century," is a carefully wrought argument showing where folk art did and did not have an influence on Russian painting. She is scrupulous and cautious in her conclusions and relies largely on the works of Venetsianov and his school as evidence.

Taken as a whole the anthology is recommended for students of both Russian history and art history. Besides its numerous black-and-white illustrations, the book is complemented with a good index but lacks a bibliography.

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ANN HIBNER KOBLITZ. *A Convergence of Lives: Sofia Kovalevskaja; Scientist, Writer, Revolutionary*. Boston: Birkhäuser. 1983. Pp. xx, 305. \$19.95.

The 1860s—the epoch of great reforms—are generally considered the most exciting and forward-looking period in Russian history. Liberal and optimistic in outlook, the epoch was dominated by a philosophy of realism, made popular by the writer Ivan Turgenev under the name of nihilism. This philosophy stood on two pillars: a belief in the fast-approaching emancipation of Russia from the debilitating vestiges of feudal institutions and a belief in science as the only trustworthy path to cultural progress. Sofia Kovalevskaja was a true child of the age of nihilism. She wrote a drama, a novel, and exciting biographical sketches, all of which portrayed an unceasing struggle between the high ideals of nihilism and the stark realities of the day.

Kovalevskaja's contributions to mathematics are the most impressive and majestic monuments to her intellectual power and accomplishments. In 1874, after intensive study with the famous mathematician Karl Weierstrass, Kovalevskaja was awarded a Ph.D. in mathematics by the University of Göttingen, making her the first woman to receive such an honor. The dissertation was actually a combination of three papers dealing with the theory of partial differential equations, Laplace's work on the form of Saturn's rings, and the reduction of a class of Abelian integrals of the third degree to elliptic integrals. Subsequently, she read important papers at the Sixth and Seventh Congresses of Russian Naturalists and Physicians and received the famous Bordin Prize from the Paris Academy of Sciences for an ingenious mathematical treatment of the rotation of a solid body about a fixed point. In 1884, unable to secure academic appointment in Russia, she accepted an invitation from Stockholm University to be a mathematics instructor. Uncertainties of professional life and family misfortunes prevented her from giving fuller expression to her great talents.

Ann Hibner Koblitz is eminently successful in documenting the generally favorable response of the scientific community to Kovalevskaja's mathematical work. On the recommendation of P. L. Chebyshev, founder of a well-known school in approximative mathematics, the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences honored Kovalevskaja by electing her a corresponding member. The mathematician J. J. Sylvester made her the heroine of a sonnet, and Henri Poincaré considered her work a classic example of the "logical" or "analytical" orientation in mathematics, particularly well suited for exploration in the areas opened by the mounting challenges of new physics. Eager to present her heroine in the most favorable light, Koblitz does not show sufficient interest in the less flattering comments on Kovalevskaja's mathematical contributions. In his famous study of the history of mathematics in the nineteenth century, Felix Klein took note of the

unfavorable effects of Kovalevskaja's engagement in too many activities, most of which were totally unrelated to mathematics, and he was not favorably disposed to her heavy reliance on Weierstrass's mathematical taste and style. The Italian mathematician Vito Volterra pointed out a cardinal error in her study of the diffraction of light in a crystal.

Koblitz's work will appeal to historians of mathematics, to persons interested in the intellectual history of Russia, and to serious students of the struggle of modern women for freer access to academic positions. The book is readable, adequately documented, and skillfully put together, an exceedingly difficult task when dealing with a person possessing disparate talents. A more general and systematic analysis of Kovalevskaja's mathematical papers would have made this study more complete and meaningful. This reviewer would have welcomed a more critical examination of Kovalevskaja's literary works. Despite these limitations, the book is the best single study of Kovalevskaja's life and work. It is both a warm tribute to a grand person and a successful scholarly endeavor.

ALEXANDER VUCINICH
University of Pennsylvania

KEITH NEILSON. *Strategy and Supply: The Anglo-Russian Alliance, 1914-17*. Boston: George Allen and Unwin. 1984. Pp. xiv, 338. \$29.95.

Keith Neilson has dealt almost entirely with the procurement, financing, transporting, and use of war materials by the Anglo-Russian partners during the First World War. From the beginning of the conflict until the October Revolution finally took Russia out of the war, the two cobelligerents encountered difficulties in their relations, which gave rise to a series of engrossing problems. These were discussed in negotiations and conferences, which reached a climax in the Petrograd Conference in February 1917. So fundamental were the differences disclosed at that time that they raised the question of the continuing compatibility of the partnership.

The reason for this waning affinity was not, as the author demonstrates, the absence of continuity in the management of Anglo-Russian affairs, at least not from the British side with which he largely deals. He groups British officials into three categories: the politicians (including Sir Edward Grey, the secretary of state for foreign affairs and one of the architects of the Anglo-Russian agreement), the civil servants (including Sir Arthur Nicolson and Sir Charles Hardinge, successive permanent undersecretaries of state for foreign affairs during the war and participants in the formation of the agreement), and representatives (including Sir George Buchanan,

the British ambassador to Russia whose father, Sir Andrew Buchanan, occupied this position before him). A final chapter adds some pertinent and perceptive comments on the stewardship of these and other officials charged with responsibility for Anglo-Russian affairs.

As in the prewar period, the major problem besetting British and Russian cobelligerency was the gulf between two conceptions of governmental practices and procedures. Most striking during the war were the lack of mutual expectations that were reasonable and, except for the desire to win the war, even the absence of common goals. Britain entered the war with the conviction prevailing in some influential quarters that Russia was capable of playing a major role in bringing about a quick victory, whereas Russia assumed that Britain would be able to furnish the money and supplies required for such a victory. These expectations were found within a very few months to have been mistaken, at the same time and on the same occasion when it also became clear that the hopes for a quick victory were unrealistic. The confluence of these two disappointing discoveries brought about a crisis and a turning point in the relationship of Britain and Russia, giving emphasis to the urgency for a reconsideration of the entire Allied strategy.

These and other features of Neilson's study of the military aspects of Anglo-Russian relations during the First World War characterize it as a significant contribution. His accentuation of the British side of the combination, owing, he writes, to the shortage of Russian materials, may have left only partly recognized or even unrecognized some pertinent Russian points of view or even some factors that significantly conditioned Russian behavior. Likewise, the largely military nature of the study could have benefited from more attention to the political aspects that in the form of wartime bargains might have helped hold this coalition more firmly together and determine common goals. But the positive features outweigh these omissions. Neilson has pointed out in considerable detail the difficulties that can confront an alliance that tries to proceed without accepted guidelines and unified direction. He has also shown the continuity between the British assumption that active Russian participation in the war was necessary for victory and the postrevolutionary British effort to find a means of returning Russia to an active role, the latter a frequently misunderstood objective. In short, in these and other ways the author has substantially added to our understanding of an important aspect of international relations.

JOHN A. WHITE
University of Hawaii

VICTORIA E. BONNELL. *Roots of Rebellion: Workers' Politics and Organizations in St. Petersburg and Moscow,*

1900–1914. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1983. Pp. xxi, 560. Cloth \$38.50, paper \$10.95.

This volume is an important addition to a growing list of studies on the Russian working class before the Revolution of 1917. Victoria E. Bonnell's purpose is to explain why the organized labor movement in Russia became "a vehicle for revolutionary rather than reformist aims" (p. 4). She covers the period from the early 1900s to the eve of World War I, that is, from the time when artisanal mutual-aid societies, police-sponsored unions, and underground party organizations first began to attract significant numbers of workers to the development of a more conscious labor movement, its radicalization, and its eventual "bolshevization." Other aspects of this broad approach include efforts to deal with markedly different industrial profiles (those of Moscow and St. Petersburg) and to view Russian unionization patterns in the context of the West European experience. On the whole, the results are successful.

We have for the first time a broad, detailed picture of the ways in which Russian workers organized, interacted with radical intellectuals, and responded during periods of revolution (1905), relative freedom (1906–07), repression (1907–11), and renewed agitation (1912–14). But, besides this broad view, there are some new arguments as well as hitherto unstressed details affecting Russian labor.

In dealing with the factors that affected worker organization, Bonnell emphasizes the connection between the acquisition of skill (and its related characteristics such as longer experience as city dwellers, higher levels of literacy, and improved wages) and changes in the workers' self-image. This point, as well as the stress on the nature of the workplace in predisposing workers to organize, leads to two important conclusions that are bound to be controversial: first, that workers in small shops either in or out of large factories, and especially artisanal workers, showed a particularly high propensity to unionize; second, that under these workers' influence "craft" unions prevailed over "industrial" unions up to 1914, even though the statistics cited for 1906–07 indicate, for example, that the membership of craft unions was far smaller (p. 230). These findings contradict the long-held assumptions of Soviet and some Western historians that workers from large factories were in the forefront of organized labor. More to the point, however, they offer a new consideration of a crucial question in Russian labor history: why in 1913–14 did one union after another come to endorse, at least by implication, the Bolsheviks' revolutionary aims and strategies?

Underlying Bonnell's answer to this question is the argument that more propitious political condi-

tions—like those that had existed in Western Europe—would have prevented the radicalization of Russian labor unions. Thus, she sees the militancy of workers in 1905 largely as a response to the complete absence of workers' rights, the authorities' brutality (as on Bloody Sunday), and the new possibilities opened up by revolutionary events and social democratic ideas. For these reasons, workers in 1905 demanded collective as well as individual civil rights, the control of key aspects of their lives in the factory, and, eventually, the control of political life in general (through the Petersburg Soviet), although this last demand, it is argued, coincided with the more modest claim for equal civil rights and left open the possibility of reformist unions. This reformist attitude in fact prevailed in 1906–07, when more liberal legislation and a weak government allowed the unions to flourish, and gave rise to a generation of worker-leaders whose orientation was "legalist" and Menshevik. The victory of the Bolsheviks (1913–14) over this moderate leadership, however, was not owing to any fundamental, long-term change in the composition or aspirations of the unions' membership. Rather, it was owing to the government's contradictory labor policy of allowing unions and labor newspapers to exist but in reality preventing the unions from fulfilling their actual roles. This, according to the argument, "made workers aware of their organizational potential without permitting them to derive tangible benefits from it" (p. 435). Eventually, the workers found an outlet for their anger and disappointment in legal, reformist organizations by embracing the Bolshevik strategy of repeated economic strikes intended to culminate in a general, revolutionary strike.

In sum, the book's strong emphasis on tsarist policies leaves open the question—for this reader at least—of workers' militancy once the tsar departed in February 1917. Yet much of what we learn about the relations among government, management, and labor is both new and persuasive, and the stress on the coexistence of reformist and revolutionary trends in Russian labor reminds us of a neglected aspect essential to understanding the complexity of workers' attitudes and behavior both on the eve of 1914 and in 1917.

ZIVA GALILI Y GARCIA
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LEONARD SCHAPIRO. *The Russian Revolutions of 1917: The Origins of Modern Communism*. New York: Basic. 1984. Pp. xi, 239. \$19.95.

Leonard Schapiro, who died in November 1983, was a distinguished historian and political analyst. His contributions to our understanding of the Russian and Soviet past range from a sensitive and

learned biography of Ivan Turgenev to an authoritative history of the Communist party. As a nine-year-old boy, Schapiro lived through the 1917 Revolution in Petrograd, leaving Russia with his parents only in late 1920. His experiences shaped and informed his scholarship, as his writings shaped and informed much Western thought on Soviet development.

This book, Schapiro's last, is essentially a long essay on the Russian Revolution and Lenin's politics, written in the hope that new generations "will never be duped by promises of utopia" (p. v). As such, it is even more difficult to critique than most posthumous volumes, since what is at issue is interpretation, analysis, and an understanding of why and how people can be "duped," rather than facts (which Schapiro, as usual, presents with scrupulous care). Schapiro sees the outcome of Russia's revolutionary experience, including Stalinism, as the consequence of Lenin's unprincipled lust for power. Unscrupulous, intolerant of all opponents, eager to exploit any weakness, Lenin possessed an evil genius that consisted in his ability to forge a political organization capable of implementing his will. The "essential feature of Bolshevik technique was aimed at ensuring that a soviet victory in the end meant the emergence of the Bolshevik party with a monopoly of power," a "device frequently repeated by fascist and communist parties since" but used for the first time in 1917 (p. x). Against such political determination, the members of the Provisional Government—"radical revolutionaries and republicans at heart [if one excludes Miliukov]" (p. 56)—were crippled by their very commitment to principles, as were, indeed, all who resisted Lenin and his logical (although not necessary) successor.

Popular adherence to "utopian" goals, unrealizable by definition and thus tending toward the horrors that Soviet Russia experienced after 1917, is largely the result, in Schapiro's view, of the power, or charisma, of unscrupulous personalities. The critical task of any party or political organization is therefore to develop mechanisms, based on a body of accepted principles, that prevent domination by Lenins and Stalins; by extension, although this is not Schapiro's explicit argument, societies at large must do the same. To my mind, the problem with this approach is not that it is wrong but that it is ahistorical. Charismatic personalities hungering for power can be found in almost every political organization and historical epoch. In some circumstances, however, "utopian" ideologies appear to explain conditions or events, and the rhetoric of demagogues is convincing to masses of otherwise sober and intelligent people. In other words, it is not as much promises as false or misleading explanations that "dupe." Why the explanations offered by Bolsheviks were convincing is therefore more impor-

tant for an understanding of a historical (and contextual) process like the Russian Revolution or of the origins of modern communism than whether Lenin or Marxism were demagogic. This requires a careful review of social and economic conditions, as well as of politics.

Furthermore, in Schapiro's conceptualization bolshevism, although not monolithic in this early period, was essentially homogeneous, the result of a "party machine Lenin had forged" and the means by which Stalin rose to power in the 1920s. Here, too, one needs to pay very careful attention, as T. H. Rigby and Robert Service have tried to do, to the way in which a wide range of socioeconomic circumstances also molded Bolshevik party organization, particularly outside Moscow and Petrograd. Lenin's historical role (and responsibility) can then be properly weighed against the pressures toward tyranny welling from below.

Schapiro, unfortunately, had little tolerance for historical analysis focusing on "social forces," a term he occasionally used with derision. His sometimes eloquent essay therefore hangs in the air, to use a phrase of the revolutionary period, however admirable the humanistic values beneath it.

WILLIAM G. ROSENBERG
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IU. A. SHCHETINOV. *Krushenie melkoburzhuaiznoi kontrarevoliutsii v Sovetskoi Rossii, konets 1920—1921 g.* [The Downfall of the Petit Bourgeois Counterrevolution in Soviet Russia, Late 1920–21]. Moscow: Moscow University Press. 1984. Pp. 146. 1 r. 30 k.

Iu. A. Shchetinov's book deals with the anti-Bolshevik risings in western Siberia, Kronstadt, and Tambov province in late 1920 and early 1921. His main argument can easily be summarized. He wants to convince his readers that the peasants and sailors rebelled not because they disapproved of the policies of the Soviet government, not because they suffered extreme hardships as a result of the Civil War and Bolshevik requisitioning, but because they had been manipulated by sly and vicious anti-Bolshevik politicians.

The author uses "class analysis," albeit a peculiar one. Following Lenin, he maintains that at the end of the Civil War there were three "social forces" in Russia: the proletariat, approximately 1.5 million strong and supporting the Bolsheviks; the bourgeoisie, about the same size as the working class but, of course, implacably hostile to it; and, finally, the "petite bourgeoisie," which included the rest of the population. The petty bourgeoisie, that is, the peasantry, vacillated. In Shchetinov's view—and in this respect he is a typical Soviet historian—the peasantry was incapable of formulating a program

and organizing a political movement. Such an approach betrays a deep contempt for the Russian people.

Given this approach, it is perhaps understandable that the author devotes little space to the organization and ideology of the revolts (which he invariably calls mutinies) but chooses instead to describe the real "enemy." The great bulk of this book deals with the work and activities of anti-Bolshevik circles inside and outside of Soviet Russia.

There is nothing new in Shchetinov's argument, and, indeed, there is nothing in this book that could not have appeared in Stalin's time. Once again, Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries are called socialists only in quotation marks; the "Entente" takes an interest in the minutiae of the anti-Soviet movement and assumes a position of leadership in it; and Trotskii appears only as a saboteur. Shchetinov is not a man to make fine distinctions: Trotskii, Bukharin, members of the democratic centralist and workers' oppositions are described alike as "anti-Party"; and anarchists, Mensheviks, Socialist Revolutionaries (left and right), together with Kadets and monarchists, in Shchetinov's view, really had one goal only, the overthrow of the Soviet regime. Indeed, he seems to believe that the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks were the "avant-garde of counterrevolution."

Since it is evident that in fact the revolutionaries of Kronstadt, Tambov, and Siberia did not receive significant help from anyone, one approaches the book with some interest: will the author be able to prove something that is so contrary to commonly accepted wisdom, at least in the West? Shchetinov shows that anti-Bolshevik politicians sympathized with the rebels. He shows that they hated the Soviet regime, wished its collapse, and were daydreaming about participating in its destruction. None of these "revelations" are particularly surprising. In order to prove the complicity of "imperialist" politicians, Shchetinov quotes from a letter of Bakhmetev, the former ambassador to Washington, who reported that American politicians wanted Russian emigres to cooperate. But there is a long way from advice to reality, and there is a big difference between a desire to help the rebels and the ability to do so.

We will not have to revise our original views concerning the revolts of 1920-21.

PETER KENEZ
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V. A. KOZLOV. *Kul'turnaia revoliutsiia i krest'ianstvo, 1921-1927: Po materialam evropeiskoi chasti RSFSR* [The Cultural Revolution and the Peasantry, 1921-27: From Materials on the European Region of the RSFSR]. Moscow: Nauka. 1983. Pp. 212. 1 r. 70 k.

V. A. Kozlov returns to many of the familiar questions of Soviet agrarian history of the 1920s. He notes that the Bolsheviks set themselves the difficult task of not only ruling but also transforming a society in which the overwhelming majority of the population consisted of peasant smallholders with an attachment to petty trade and private landholding. He acknowledges that this situation was bound to lead to a "severe ideological struggle" for the allegiance of the peasantry and proposes to explore "the leading role of the Communist party, the significance of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the cultural elevation of the village" (p. 5).

The main data for his inquiry are provided by some two thousand peasant household budgets reflecting the conditions of the peasantry in a selection of regions in the European part of the Russian republic for the years 1922-23 and 1925-26. The social categories of the peasantry are formulated along essentially Leninist lines—poor peasants, middle peasants, and kulaks—and the defining criteria are economic, including net income, net income from agriculture, number of cattle, area of land sown, value of production, use of hired labor, land rental, and personal consumption.

On the whole, the book portrays a steady advance of the party programs and purposes in the villages during the 1920s, including a rise in literacy and general cultural improvement, along with a decline of religious observance and a more favorable attitude toward the Communist party. The political bias of the analysis is formidable. For example, it excludes examination of the question of land-tenure systems and peasant attitudes in the 1920s, as reflected in the works of such distinguished scholars as P. N. Pershin. It also ignores the tremendous negative costs of the Civil War and the ensuing famine, whose impact simply does not appear in the introduction to chapter 2 where it rightly belongs. And the ubiquitous tables with such curious items as statistics on literacy coordinated with fifteen dimensions of peasant landholding are often quite meaningless except as a sort of pedantic validation of questions whose answers the ideological analysis has already anticipated.

But the reading is not without bright moments. The information about attitudes of peasant youth in the 1920s—more than 50 percent of the village population was under twenty-five years of age in 1926—is fascinating (pp. 151-63). The results of a contemporary study show a positive attitude of young people toward the communist regime, including a sense of greater rights than under the old order and a good deal of satisfaction with economic conditions. Significantly, the specific items mentioned were part of the structure of the New Economic Policy, soon rudely displaced by compulsory collectivization. That youngsters educated in the

new Soviet schools had new heroes—many of them Bolsheviks, and Lenin in first place—is probably not surprising. That they were specifically conscious that their new government had decisively favored the urban worker over the peasant was a harbinger of future problems.

The 1920s is such an important era in the history of the Russian peasantry that one badly wants new and useful studies. But the ideological constraints of Soviet scholarship, so evident in this work, still obstruct the revival of a once-great tradition of Russian agrarian studies.

HERBERT J. ELLISON
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 Advanced Russian Studies
 Washington, D.C.*

ALEXANDER VUCINICH. *Empire of Knowledge: The Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1917–1970*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1984. Pp. x, 484. \$29.95.

The focus of this book is the Soviet Academy of Sciences, but the actual topic is much broader. Indeed, it could perhaps be more aptly entitled *Science in Soviet Culture, 1917–1980* and stand as the culmination of the author's two earlier masterful volumes, *Science in Russian Culture: A History to 1870* (1963) and *Science in Russian Culture, 1861–1917* (1970).

Alexander Vucinich's major theme is the tension that constantly arose from the twin roles of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. On the one hand, the academy came to serve as a vitally important governmental institution with the responsibility of coordinating and administering research throughout the country and ensuring a close fit between scientific theory and the official Marxist-Leninist ideology. On the other hand, it served as the institutional base for a community of scientists, most of whom favored pure over applied research and believed it was the function of the scientific community, not external political or ideological authorities, to make judgments on scientific theories and research priorities.

Early in the Soviet period it appeared highly doubtful that either the academy as a major institution or the community of scientists as a tightly knit professional group would long survive. During the 1920s the academy remained in the background as major attention went to newly founded institutions such as the Communist Academy and the Institute of Red Professoriate, which sought to create a new "socialist" or "proletarian" science and a new generation of proletarian scholars and scientists. Then, during the first stage of Stalin's revolution (1928–33), the academy came under official attack:

some of its members were purged, political pressure was applied to elect marginally qualified but politically loyal figures, and the administration was effectively subordinated to party and state control. Scientists were hounded to make public professions of political loyalty and to conduct practical research that could be coordinated with the immediate demands of the economy and the five-year plans. Officially inspired ideological attacks, culminating in the late 1940s, claimed that the entire fields of genetics, psychology, and sociology, as well as certain aspects of relativity and quantum mechanics, were incompatible with dialectical materialism and therefore erroneous.

This side of the story is well known, and Vucinich presents an effective and convenient summary of it. More interesting, however, is the other side. At the same time that the academy was losing its institutional and intellectual autonomy, it was gaining new status in the emerging Stalinist institutional hierarchy. A massive infusion of funds enabled a huge network of new research institutes to be opened throughout the country, many of them under the administration of the academy. The enlarged size of the new system made it possible for pure research to be continued in most fields in addition to the newly proclaimed emphasis on practicalism. Rival institutions such as the Communist Academy were abolished in the 1930s, and the most vociferous proponents of a new "proletarian" approach to science were purged, demoted, or converted. Finally, the author shows that even during the worst periods of Stalinism, some individual scientists refused to bow to the ideological demands, continued their research as usual, and kept alive, though on a small scale, some of the traditional values of the scientific community. During the post-Stalin thaw, the importance of the academy and governmental funding of science increased still further, in line with the perceived demands of the scientific and technological revolution. Ideological restrictions were sharply modified, and non-Stalinist academicians were able to regain some of the lost autonomy for a reemerging scientific community.

The book is not without flaws. One wonders if "ideologue" might not be a more appropriate term than "philosopher" for those who sought to impose ideological limitations on scientific theories. There is relatively little information on arrested scientists and scholars and no discussion of whether Jewish scientists may have suffered disproportionately during the antic cosmopolitan drive. In general, the author has made impressively extensive use of published Soviet sources but relatively little of *samizdat* or emigre literature, which might have provided more of an insider's view of how science has been practiced in Soviet Russia.

But these are minor blemishes. This is the first book in English that, in effect, covers the entire history of the institutional development of Soviet science and the Soviet Academy of Sciences. It will not soon be superceded.

JAMES C. MCCLELLAND
University of Nebraska

NEAR EAST

BERNARD LEWIS. *The Jews of Islam*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1984. Pp. xii, 245. \$17.50.

Bernard Lewis devotes his attention in this book to the relationship between Muslims and Jews. He begins with a sketch of the attitude of Islam toward other religions and especially toward the "People of the Book"—Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians—whom the Muslims allowed to live in their midst as *dhimmis* (protected, low-class, humiliated people). "On the whole," Lewis remarks, "in contrast to Christian anti-Semitism, the Muslim attitude toward non-Muslims [has been historically] one not of hate or fear or envy but simply of contempt. . . . The conventional epithets [were] apes for Jews and pigs for Christians" (p. 33).

Yet, despite the Muslim insistence on keeping the Jews in their place, the Muslim environment enabled the Jews to develop a high culture, in which Arab, Persian, and other Muslim influences played a seminal role. In fact, the Middle Ages saw the emergence of a "Judaic-Islamic tradition," of which Lewis gives an overview in chapter 2, noting the parallel features between Muslim and Jewish jurisprudence, religious tradition, literature, poetry, philosophy, art, and architecture, as well as the reciprocal influences between the two communities.

Lewis compares the position of Jews under Islam with their fate in Christian Europe. In these comparisons it is the Christian world that is found wanting. Several times in the course of their history, Jews fled from European countries and found refuge in Muslim lands. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century visitors from Europe found the conditions of the Jews in the Ottoman empire (which comprised most of the Arab lands as well) idyllic. By the nineteenth century, in comparison with the improved Jewish condition in Central and Western Europe, the same (or only somewhat worsened) position of the Jews in Turkey and its Arab colonies was judged shockingly bad. From 1798 on, when hostilities began between France and the Ottoman empire, the Ottoman reaction to the egalitarian ideas of the French Revolution was expressed in frequent allusions to the "absurd and preposterous" ideas of equality among mankind.

After a survey in chapter 3 of the late medieval and early modern periods in which most of "the Jews of Islam" lived under Ottoman rule, Lewis turns his attention in chapter 4, appropriately entitled "End of the Tradition," to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in which increasing contact was established between the Muslim and the Western worlds. In this period the *dhimmis*, and primarily the Jews, in the House of Islam "tried to combine the totally incompatible objectives of equal citizenship, foreign protection, and national independence" (p. 170), which inevitably resulted in a worsening of the Muslim attitude toward them.

Muslim-Christian contact also brought about the penetration of European anti-Semitic attitudes and literature (including the infamous *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*) into the Middle East, which transformed the traditional Muslim attitude of contempt toward the Jews into hatred. The end of the Muslim-Jewish symbiosis was, however, the result of the establishment of Israel, in whose wake the Jews evacuated the lands of Islam in a mass exodus rivaling in magnitude the biblical escape from Egypt. With this exodus, a great and long chapter of Jewish life and creativity came to an end.

Lewis's book is a fitting scholarly necrology of the thirteen centuries of Jewish sojourn in the House of Islam.

RAPHAEL PATAI
Forest Hills, New York

AFAF LUTFI AL-SAYYID MARSOT. *Egypt in the Reign of Muhammad Ali*. (Cambridge Middle East Library.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1984. Pp. x, 300. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$17.95.

A reappraisal of Egyptian history during the Muhammad Ali period has been long overdue, but the length of his reign (1805–49) and the wide range of archival, manuscript, and published material relating to this era poses a formidable task to the researcher. Afaf Lutfi Al-Sayyid Marsot has wisely chosen to begin her reappraisal with an interpretive essay reviewing the major trends of the period.

She spends several chapters discussing Muhammad Ali's origins, his rise to power, his family, and his key ministers. This section of the book is informative and lively. She brings together a good deal of archival material to produce a sympathetic characterization of Muhammad Ali and his eldest son, Ibrahim.

The chapters on internal policies, agricultural change, industry and commerce, and foreign wars are held together by the concept of mercantilism, which Marsot sees as the major reason behind Muhammad Ali's centralization of power, his attention to agricultural improvement, the founding of

industries, and the creation of a powerful army and navy. Marsot ties these aspects of Muhammad Ali's program together in the following way: agricultural improvements were made to increase productivity; the agricultural surplus was exported to pay for the establishment of industries; and, to protect his trade, Muhammad Ali created an army and navy, which he used in the Sudan, Arabia, Greece, and Syria in an attempt to gain raw materials and markets. It is, however, difficult to accept the underlying concept of economic determinism that holds this argument together.

The expansion of Egyptian political and economic power brought Muhammad Ali into conflict with both the Ottoman empire and England. The latter is seen as the villain of the piece, for England cooperated with the great powers to destroy the Egyptian fleet and force Muhammad Ali from Greece, intervened militarily to drive Muhammad Ali's army from Syria, and broke his trade monopolies in a zone of growing economic and political interest to England.

Marsot correctly links Muhammad Ali's mercantilist policies with the mamluk regimes of the eighteenth century. His domestic policies created a class of large landowners, introduced Egyptians into the military and the bureaucracy, and laid the foundations of a nation-state. These were his lasting achievements.

Marsot presents a standard review of the agricultural changes that formed the basis of Muhammad Ali's modernization program, but she challenges previous interpretations of the effectiveness of Egypt's industries. She argues that the establishment of those industries, especially in textiles, was successful. Like the struggle to found an empire, however, those attempts were foredoomed, not by internal structural deficiencies but by British intervention.

The book reaches its climax in the events of 1841 and covers the last eight years of the pasha's reign in only nine pages, leaving this period as neglected as before. The select bibliography also omits a sizable number of highly regarded and easily available studies. Despite these shortcomings, the book presents a welcome review of the major trends in Muhammad Ali's long career and challenges many long-accepted interpretations of this period.

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Los Angeles

AFRICA

BILL FREUND. *The Making of Contemporary Africa: The Development of African Society since 1800*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1984. Pp. xv, 357. Cloth \$19.50, paper \$8.95.

The reader's reaction to this work of synthesis will be one of pleasure and respect. Bill Freund writes very well, putting in brief compass what other authors would require enormous latitude to express. Freund is not hesitant to interpret and so provides this general introduction to modern African history with an economic bias at once intelligent and meaningful.

Anyone who has attempted to write the recent history of this large continent, which has been rushed through so many disturbing political and cultural experiences in the last century, knows the necessity of making, and then of qualifying, continent-wide generalizations. It is to Freund's credit that he finds appropriate, indeed choice, examples for every generalization he makes and that the book is well grounded in local and regional developments.

Subscribing to a materialist interpretation of modern African history, yet sharply critical of those sweeping statements about class struggle and underdevelopment that have excited the debate over colonialism since the end of that phenomenon, Freund wisely advises his reader that "social relationships and cultural forms can show remarkable variety" (p. 35). That variety is well accounted for in this rather short, but very thoughtful, volume.

The incisiveness and wit with which this book has been written help make the text a refreshing reading experience for the individual already versed in the African past. To the individual first exploring African history, *The Making of Contemporary Africa* may be overwhelming just because of its remarkable conciseness. Thus, its usefulness will be found as a complementary text (and the word "text" almost does the book a disservice), an extended summary statement by which the introductory student can conclude a survey.

Freund introduces his book by stating that it requires temerity, particularly from a young scholar, to undertake such a study. The reader of this well-wrought study will appreciate that temerity and the youthful assertion that African history needs new interpretation. This reviewer awaits Freund's next work with anticipation. What a remarkable contribution it most certainly would be, were it an extended study of recent African historiography.

RAYMOND F. BETTS
University of Kentucky

FINN FUGLESTAD. *A History of Niger, 1850-1960*. (African Studies Series, number 41.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1983. Pp. vii, 275. \$39.50.

This latest volume in the Cambridge African Studies Series offers the first systematic treatment of the

colonial history of Niger and is likely to stand as the definitive work on this long-neglected aspect of French colonization. Aside from the intrinsic significance of the area—Niger being a crucial link in the histories of much of French West and Equatorial Africa—Finn Fuglestad's book is a model of historical scholarship, reflecting an intimate familiarity with archival sources, an excellent grasp of the ethno-regional complexities of the country, and a keen sensitivity to the motives of individual actors. The result is a fascinating reconstruction of the historical forces set in motion by the penetration of French rule, whose effects are still being felt today within and beyond the boundaries of Niger.

The central theme of the book revolves around the patterns of resistance and accommodation engendered by the impact of the colonial state, "a complex and ambiguous story with no heroes and almost no villains" (p. 189). The complexity stems in part from the very different modes of social organization, norms, and political cultures of Nigerian societies, all of which conspired to elicit widely different responses to the challenge of colonization. The story is further complicated by the contradictions inherent in French policies, some of which were attributable to the preferences and idiosyncrasies of individual administrators and others to the policy shifts of the metropole. How and to what extent these policies have contributed to the restructuring of indigenous societies and to the creation of the basis for the emergence of a nationalist ferment is not the least arresting of the several themes explored by the author.

Fuglestad's approach, which he describes as "descriptive and analytical as well as also sociological" (p. 189), enables him to come to grips with the dynamics of social change and to deal with the totality of the social transformations effected through colonial rule. Therefore, his treatment will be of considerable interest not only to historians but also to social scientists in general. Fuglestad's book stands as a first-rate contribution to our understanding of the history and politics of Niger while opening important new perspectives on its continuing links with neighboring states and societies.

RENÉ LEMARCHAND
University of Florida

JOHN H. SPENCER. *Ethiopia at Bay: A Personal Account of the Haile Sellassie Years*. Algonac, Mich.: Reference. 1984. Pp. xiv, 397. \$24.95.

John H. Spencer was the Ethiopian government's adviser in international relations for five months in 1936, from 1943 to July 1960, and briefly in 1973, when he was recalled to help stem the growing crises of modernity, geopolitics, and nature, all of which

combined to kill the monarchical state in 1974. As a memoir of Ethiopia and its late, great emperor, this book is unique, a well-written repository of impressions, insights, and privileged information.

We learn much from Spencer's well-wrought cameos. He notes, for example, that, at the Ethiopian Foreign Office, "the entire collection of papers, documents, and telegrams [at my disposal] . . . were contained in a night-table-sized cabinet" (p. 21). When he met his imperial boss in January 1936, he was given a characteristically limp handshake of welcome and a rather good meal. We learn that the emperor "was fundamentally an intensely self-centered person for whom the lives of others counted for little besides his own" (p. 62); that "throughout his reign, as automatically as a compass needle drawn toward the magnetic pole, His Majesty turned towards the United States" (p. 102); and that "the capacious bins of his remarkable memory" enabled him "to attend to the myriad of administrative details" necessary for monarchical supremacy (p. 131). Paradoxically, Haile Sellassie's obsessive concern about foreign affairs lacked depth: "He floated almost effortlessly on the surface of the problems, had few incisive suggestions, made little contribution to the tough give and take of negotiations and remained unfamiliar with the hard intricacies of important agreements" (p. 154).

Spencer also recollects Makonnen Habte Wolde, one of the emperor's confidants until his death during the attempted coup of 1960, as "a total ascetic . . . [whose] steadfastness of character and his incorruptability . . . won him the total confidence of the Emperor and enabled him to become the most exquisitely informed of all Ethiopians I have known" (p. 118). His brother, the well-educated Aklilu, the emperor's long-time prime minister, was executed in November 1974 by the revolutionary government. He was "a remarkably clear and logical thinker and a persuasive antagonist," who despised the Orthodox clergy "for their ignorance and greed" and the aristocracy for its dependence on the crown's largesse (p. 115). Haile Sellassie always consulted the brothers Habte Wolde before he made important substantive decisions, and they headed up many of the royal commissions that played an important informal role in developing government policies. In sharp contrast, the emperor rarely sought the crown prince's advice because "Of all the Ethiopian officials I have known . . . Asfa Wossen displayed beyond all others a marked reluctance to maintain firm positions on basic issues" (p. 316).

Spencer's other evaluations are interesting. He considers that Ethiopia erred in 1935 by conceding the arbitration of the Welwel crisis on the basis of the facts "as distinguished from questions of sovereignty concerning the incident" (p. 39). The emperor's flight into exile was a good strategy, since

his capture and execution by the Italians would truly have extinguished Ethiopia's international persona. After his return from exile in 1941, Haile Sellassie failed to fulfil his modernization plans "not only because of the strength of vested interests, but because his objective was not liberalization, but centralization" (p. 131). After 1953 Ethiopia's quasi-alliance with the United States served to isolate the country from its natural allies in the Middle East, Africa, and the Third World. Overestimating his own importance, Spencer blames himself for not opposing the American connection, which led to Arab hostility and subsequent Russian infiltration into the Horn of Africa.

There are other imbalances. Spencer's appraisals of certain Ethiopians comprise such conventional prejudices that I wonder if he really knew or understood the personalities involved. What does he mean when he writes that Ras Imru was "openly" a communist sympathizer and that Ras Kassa was an "extreme conservative"? Spencer continues to use Galla when they prefer the designation of Oromo; the Guarage would be upset to know that their name means coolie, even if they mostly provided those services for many years. Finally, I would have liked Spencer to have indicated where he took various bits and pieces of information from British Foreign Office archives or State Department records. His diaries obviously could not have included everything. Aside from such issues, Spencer has provided us with an information-packed original source about Ethiopia. I hope that his memoirs are followed by others from the many ranking Ethiopians in exile in America and Europe and by the imperial regime's many former advisers.

HAROLD MARCUS
Michigan State University

ASIA AND THE EAST

JANE KATE LEONARD. *Wei Yuan and China's Rediscovery of the Maritime World*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 111.) Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University; distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 1984. Pp. xviii, 276. \$20.00.

Wei Yuan's *Hai-kuo t'u-chih* is widely known, and Jane Kate Leonard rightly confines her book to analysis of Wei's views and his place in the context of late Ch'ing thought and policy. She does, however, provide a brief biographical sketch and an even briefer summary of his *Treatise*. She maintains not only that from a "Eurocentric perspective" has Wei been incorrectly seen as a modernizer, whereas he was, in fact, a traditionalist, but also that the late

Ch'ing response (of which he was a part) to the Western threat has been inappropriately judged to be "backward, static, and anachronistic." Certainly, one must welcome any attempt at a more Sinocentric history, but I do not find her case for either of these major points wholly persuasive. Previous Western scholarship has in the main seen Wei as she describes him, at most as critic or reformer but in the traditional mode. Her effort to portray his, and late Ch'ing, perceptions and policies as other than static or anachronistic and to make them seem rational is for me unconvincing. Wei's ideas stressed elite morality and domestic problems and viewed the West as merely a less important extension of the Nan Yang.

It is true that Western attention has focused on Western action as nineteenth-century China's chief problem, a preoccupation that needs at the least to be broadened, as recent publications have begun to do. But, as Leonard acknowledges, it remains hard to explain or to justify Ch'ing blindness to the threat represented by seaborne aggression and to the nature and dimensions of the force behind it, especially given earlier Ch'ing problems with piracy and with the Dutch on Taiwan. Wei's *Treatise* centered on the Nan Yang (a point *not* missed by most earlier Western accounts) and failed to understand—almost failed to try to understand—the Western world behind the drive aimed at China through the Nan Yang. How could Wei have missed the implications of the British acquisition of Hong Kong or China's earlier defenselessness against British arms? Is it just our own Western bias or the 20/20 vision of hindsight, as Leonard implies, that can label such attitudes as irrational? Leonard asserts that official Chinese ignorance of developments in the Nan Yang, including the importance of Western bases there, resulted from the takeover of most Chinese trade with that area by private merchants, which eclipsed the formerly dominant tributary system and its official channels. But why did the state nevertheless remain so ill informed and so unconcerned, when it needed very little effort to gain a more accurate picture of a threatening reality? One needs to explain such ostrichlike behavior; various lines of explanation can easily be pursued, but Leonard does not really do so and appears instead to try to see the state's behavior as somehow rational. She would have it that "this [attitude] was not the result of basic weakness or inertia in the traditional Chinese system but . . . the outcome of concrete developments in the history of Sino-Nan Yang relations" (pp. 34–35). But was it not precisely the former? And how can Ch'ing disregard of those "concrete developments" and their consequences not require further explanation? This was hardly China's first experience with foreigners, sea traders, or troublemakers in coastal zones. Legitimizing the

junk trade, as the Ch'ing did, should also have signaled their awareness of the Nan Yang and the strategic importance of their own southeast coast. The rigidity of late Ch'ing and of Wei remain a puzzle, especially given the much greater flexibility and informed pragmatism of early Ch'ing, a point recently remade in an important collection of essays, *China among Equals* (1983), edited by Morris Rossabi.

Wei's advice was in general ignored, and he was ahead of his time in recognizing a mounting danger, even though he saw it most imperfectly. His suggested solutions made little practical sense, based as they were on incomplete and inaccurate information; this, in turn, suggests that, like all Chinese officials, he cared too little about these or any barbarians to make the effort needed to learn about them and their power, let alone to learn from them.

Leonard's points are worth argument, but her case could have been stated more effectively at article length. As it is, her treatment is irritatingly repetitious, gives excessive space to material too well known to need retelling, and, hence, places a gratuitous burden on the scholarly reader, for whom presumably her book is intended.

RHOADS MURPHEY
University of Michigan

S. BERNARD THOMAS. *Labor and the Chinese Revolution: Class Strategies and Contradictions of Chinese Communism, 1928-48*. (Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies, number 49.) Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan. 1983. Pp. xi, 341. \$15.00.

That the urban working class played at best a secondary role to the peasants in the Chinese revolution is a well-known fact. Scholars have thus tended to neglect the history of the workers' struggles, notwithstanding Jean Chesneaux's pioneering volume, *The Chinese Labor Movement, 1919-1927* (1968). S. Bernard Thomas's new study is therefore a welcome addition to the literature, for it carries the story forward from 1928 to 1949. Although the book contains few surprises for anyone familiar with the subject, it documents the urban-worker strategy of the Chinese Communist party (CCP) much more thoroughly than other existing accounts. As such, it makes a valuable contribution to the field and should be of interest to advanced students and scholars in modern Chinese labor and party history.

In essence, Thomas argues that an urban-centered, worker-based revolutionary strategy dominated CCP thinking from the party's inception in 1921 to the central leadership's shift from Shanghai to the rural Jiangxi Soviet in 1933. Between 1933 and the rectification campaign in 1942-43 party policy veered between the urban orientation of the

Moscow-trained returned student faction and the rural proclivities of Mao Zedong and his supporters. Nonetheless, the overall drift was in favor of Mao's concept of a peasant-based revolutionary strategy, a line that was legitimized as official party policy during the rectification movement and in the succeeding years until the CCP's nationwide victory in 1949. As Thomas notes, this prolonged struggle between urban and rural factions among the top party leaders was costly: "The party's perception of the meaning and content of its role as proletarian vanguard gave the developing rural-centered struggle in the years after 1928 a class line and an urban focus that strongly influenced and often distorted and impeded the basic land revolution" (p. 21).

Despite the eventual triumph of Mao's rural strategy, the author concludes, an urban-rural dichotomy has continued to plague the party's policies since 1949. Mao, for example, grew increasingly hostile to the relative advantage of urban workers over rural peasants in wages, working conditions, and social amenities. He repeatedly sought (albeit with limited success) to redress the balance, as in the Great Leap Forward in 1958 and the Cultural Revolution in 1966-67. Indeed, it should be noted that tensions are still evident as the post-Mao leadership endeavors to reassure workers in big cities that they too will benefit from the recent experiments with material incentives that have brought unprecedented prosperity to a substantial number of the land-based peasants. No doubt, urban-rural contradictions will remain an important aspect of Chinese politics for the foreseeable future. In this light Thomas's study provides much-needed historical background to one of the central issues in China's continuing development.

Despite its title, Thomas's study is more a detailed exegesis of CCP policy toward the urban working class than a substantive analysis of their role in the revolution. And, although the central thesis is cogently argued and based on a careful analysis of Chinese and Western materials, the author's treatment is repetitious and rather dry at times. In sum, the volume offers little that is dramatically new, but it fleshes out in considerable detail a relatively neglected aspect of the Chinese communist movement and fills an important gap in the existing literature.

RAYMOND F. WYLIE
Lehigh University

RAMON H. MYERS and MARK R. PEATTIE, editors. *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895-1945*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1984. Pp. x, 540. \$47.50.

This important volume contains fourteen essays by scholars from academic institutions in Japan, the

United States, and Canada. These studies of the development and administration of the formal empire (1895–1945) will be of keen interest to specialists. The less detailed and less technical essays also will have value for those concerned with the general flow of East Asian history. The contents are divided into four parts: the origins and meaning of the formal colonial empire, management of the empire, economic dynamics of the empire, and the empire in historical and global perspective. The informal empire in China and wartime conquests are not considered directly. In some instances the point of view is comparative: for example, the authors examine divergent Japanese policies toward Korea and Taiwan or refer to analogous Japanese and Western colonial experiences.

Given the perceived nineteenth-century Western threat to national survival and the continued existence of the unequal treaty system, Japanese overseas expansion had its own rationale. Mark R. Peattie, referring to an observation by Marius Jansen, notes, "Japanese imperialism was less deliberate than situational in origin" (p. 13). How important were economic considerations? Several authors (Peter Duus, Lewis Gann, Mizoguchi Toshiyuki, Yamada Saburō, and Yamamoto Yuzo) offer strong evidence to refute Marxist-Leninist claims that finance capitalism produced the Japanese empire. Duus advocates further research to determine how such economic and political interests were balanced. Imperialism brought major benefits to Japan and further stimulated Japanese economic expansion. But the result, the authors note in detail, was without question a decidedly mixed bag for the colonial peoples.

Japanese scholars have been chary about examining the history of their country's empire. Ramon H. Myers points out. There have been many Marxist interpretations of the nation's imperialism. But the impetus for historical study of the empire began in the 1960s from Korean and Chinese university scholars and students living in Japan.

Gann compares Japan's colonial administration and exploitation with that of Britain, France, and Germany in Africa. Both Western and Japanese colonists transmitted new methods and ways of thought, and the empires they created were essentially middle-class achievements. Moreover, the central military authorities in Tokyo, as Gann claims, may have had a tighter control over the armies overseas than their European counterparts, but the reader recalls crucial violent events in Manchuria (in 1928 and 1931) planned and coordinated by the Kwantung Army without official or direct approval by General Staff officers in Tokyo.

Finally, although the Japanese attempted to integrate their empire, they were never able to convince their colonial subjects more than partially to accept

Japanese ways or claims of cultural affinity, for which there were many reasons. Two will illustrate the problem: first, the newly created colonial middle class deeply resented its imperialist overlords, and, second, the Japanese seemed bound to certain special mystical qualities based on their founding myths. In this context Peattie aptly refers to Hannah Arendt's discussion of "continental imperialism" (p. 14). German and Slavic emotional ties to common race and culture were somewhat akin to Japan's search for an imperial fusion of race and culture. Arendt saw this as "an enlarged tribal consciousness." Japanese imperialists thus could view their country's colonial rule as superior to that of European states and sought an imperial administration as tightly integrated to the homeland as possible. Peattie observes, "the irony and tragedy of the Japanese case was that the colonial empire ultimately came to include the worst and most contradictory racial assumptions of both [overseas and continental] patterns" (p. 15).

In sum, these essays, rich in scholarly detail, provide a most valuable summary of the subject from a variety of perspectives. The authors used a wide range of sources, some official, many secondary, although just one author (Myers) includes a bibliography. The reader is informed, stimulated, and provided with a basis for additional research about related subjects, such as anti-Japanese nationalist liberation movements or the way Japanese lived and conducted themselves in their colonies.

WILLIAM F. MORTON

York College

City University of New York

VICTOR B. LIEBERMAN. *Burmese Administrative Cycles: Anarchy and Conquest, c. 1580–1760*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1984. Pp. xii, 338. \$40.00.

Dynastic intrigue and succession have been described as a process whereby "the sponge follows the sword." The cyclical alternation between a strong central monarchy and uprisings on the periphery is a clear pattern in European medieval history. Victor B. Lieberman's study imposes a similar framework on Burmese leadership from the First Toungoo dynasty until the death of the founder of the Konbaung dynasty, Alaung-hpaya, in 1760. Although the concept is not new, the author applies it in a sophisticated manner to a largely ignored area, period, and body of records.

The tensions at the center included princely disidence, fostered by polygamous royal marriages; religious activities of the *sangha*; maintaining control of the *ahmudans* and *athis*, or royal agricultural and military forces; success in warfare; and unpredicta-

ble agricultural productivity, dependent as it was on irrigation and rainfall. Centralization demanded subordination of the elite, but that conflicted with the elite's prerogatives. Competition between patron-client groups was endemic. Discontent fostered fragmentation, and fragmentation encouraged re-centralization. In short, disorganization of royal administration and lack of control over manpower nurtured succession struggles.

Basing his analysis on these and other variables, Lieberman identifies four distinct periods in Burmese history: imperial decline in the late sixteenth century, restoration of the First Toungoo empire (1597 to about 1648), prolonged decline of the nuclear zone to 1752, and reintegration under Alaung-hpaya after 1752.

Lieberman also compares these early periods of Burmese history to later ones, particularly the nineteenth century, as well as to the history of Javanese Martaram and Siam. Because of geography, Siam was more disposed to centralization. Lieberman concludes that precolonial Indianized Southeast Asia not only possessed a loose coherence from the interaction of cultural heritage, the military, and commerce but also had similar internal political processes. These await further research.

This study represents the new frontier of methodology in Southeast Asian studies. It employs social science theory, hitherto neglected sources, and comparative techniques.

OLIVER B. POLLAK
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Omaha*

JAMES SINCLAIR. *Uniting a Nation: The Postal and Telecommunications Services of Papua New Guinea*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1984. Pp. viii, 287. \$27.95.

Papua New Guinea is unquestionably the pearl of Melanesia. As the largest independent nation in Oceania, it extends from the equator to 12 degrees south latitude and from 141 to 160 degrees east longitude. Currently, the country has a diverse population of more than three million people. Some ethnologists distinguish between the Papuans, who are believed to be the first arrivals to the island and who now inhabit the interior, and the Melanesians, who inhabit the coastal areas and offshore islands. But there has been much mixing of people long before the advent of Western explorers and other outsiders, and the indigenous people can be considered to be related to other Melanesians who occupy the greater part of the vast western Pacific. Papua New Guinea is rich in natural resources and has tremendous potential for economic development. Its terrain is rugged and foreboding, and over time

it has presented quite a challenge to the explorers, colonists, and missionaries, as well as to the islanders themselves.

The development of a nation with a complex topography is, to a considerable extent, a function of the development of its transportation and communications. So it was with the westward expansion of the United States and the appearance of the pony express, the telegraph, the railroads, and the regular mails. That is what this book is about: the development of the postal system and the telecommunications in Papua New Guinea. It is a comprehensive and definitive work, covering the period from August 1885, just after the establishment of the Protectorate of British New Guinea, to almost the present day.

Papua New Guinea became independent in September 1975, almost concurrently with James Sinclair's formal retirement from government service. As a field officer in the Australian administrative service, Sinclair worked in Papua New Guinea from 1948 onward, and he has provided the latest update on that country's postal service developments. It is an objective history and also a very readable one. Sinclair was in a splendid position to document and observe the developments he records, and he has also supplied an excellent photographic section that illuminates his text. He provides a thorough bibliography as well as a number of tables and statistical charts in the appendix.

Pacific scholars wishing to be informed on this topic will have to read Sinclair's book, for he has made an important contribution to the history of the area. Moreover, the story he relates will be instructive to many other government officials with administrative responsibilities for mail and communications on islands that are still somewhat behind the stage of development in Papua New Guinea. They could surely learn and save time for themselves by considering Sinclair's discourse.

Sinclair neither intended to consider nor touched much on the issue of how the transition from Australian government management to local management under the new independent government will proceed. To maintain efficiency and effectiveness will undoubtedly be a great challenge for Papua New Guinea. Had Sinclair dwelt on this problem of transition and continued development more, the book might have been even more valuable to the people running the emerging new governments in the Pacific.

Still, this is a small criticism in light of the important outline and description he has given us. This will be an authoritative work for many years to come, and we can be grateful to Sinclair for his efforts.

DIRK ANTHONY BALLENDORF
University of Guam

UNITED STATES

KAREN ORDAHL KUPPERMAN. *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Allanheld. 1984. Pp. viii, 182. Cloth \$24.95, paper \$12.50.

Given David B. Quinn's virtually definitive assemblage of documents and extensive introduction in his *The Roanoke Voyages* (1955), Roanoke has hardly been a neglected subject. But, in part because of the intimidating thoroughness of Quinn's work, no book-length narrative has dealt with this English experience on the Carolina coast. Karen Ordahl Kupperman's account supplies the need. In relatively short readable form, she tells the story of the two futile efforts to plant an English colony on Roanoke Island. Although the book offers no new, startling interpretations (nor does it solve the mystery of the colony's disappearance), it should for the foreseeable future be the basic account of this episode in early colonization.

Kupperman's explanation of the colony's failure seems, on the whole, sensible. She argues that the Raleigh enterprise proved futile because the colonists were more concerned with privateering than with the transplantation of a segment of English society in the New World. Thus, the colony was organized for the acquisition of short-run profit, and resources were dissipated in luckless attempts to plunder Spanish treasure. And yet, although the explanation is convincing as far as it goes, it does not appear to account for all of the facts. For example, at least some of the promoters of the scheme (the Hakluyts and Thomas Hariot, according to Kupperman) held a much broader vision of the purpose of colonial expansion. Raleigh himself seemed quite capable of combining privateering with colonization. But, perhaps more significant, the settlers who landed on Roanoke Island in July 1587 were not a military expedition like the first colony under Ralph Lane. Rather, this second group, led by John White, came prepared for permanent settlement as illustrated by the presence of women and children among the colonists. Privateering, no doubt, proved a detriment to the success of the endeavor, but not because a permanent plantation had not been intended.

The book rightfully places considerable emphasis on the role of the native people in the experience of the two colonies and in their ultimate failure. As was to be the case at Jamestown, the Roanoke colonists came to rely on the Indians to provide food at the same time that they nurtured a deep distrust of people they considered "savages." At first, the natives gave freely of their sustenance (evidence, writes Kupperman, of their generosity and their capacity as farmers), but the constant English demand for food soon became a source of friction (since appar-

ently Indian generosity and horticultural capacity was ultimately unequal to the demands of two societies). Much of the blame for the tension, of course, must rest with the English. As Kupperman explains it, Elizabethan Englishman saw treachery as a common component of life; thus, they expected an unpleasant relationship with the Indians. The problem with this view is not that it misperceives English expectations or even that it misinterprets the English vision of the prevalence of treachery. Indeed, the English did anticipate the worst and did believe that they lived in a world of menace and deceit. Rather, the problem is that it fails to account for the special relationship that obtained between Europeans and people they conceived as "savages." For Kupperman Anglo-Indian relations are no different from Anglo-Iberian or Anglo-French relations. The result is a plausible enough account of the English settlement, but one that unfortunately lacks the depth and subtlety that the clash of culture deserves.

BERNARD W. SHEEHAN
Indiana University

KENNETH E. LEWIS. *The American Frontier: An Archaeological Study of Settlement Pattern and Process*. (Studies in Historical Archaeology.) New York: Academic. 1984. Pp. xxvi, 333.

This is part of the Studies in Historical Archaeology series and is obviously intended primarily for historical archaeologists rather than historians. Traditional historians, however, may profit from the book in at least two ways. First, it is an example of what is being done by colleagues in a closely related field. Although the approach is distinctly different and the terminology strange, Kenneth E. Lewis is engaged in the same search for information about the inhabitants of the past that engages most historians. Second, embedded in an attempt to establish an anthropological model is a fair amount of valuable historical information about colonial South Carolina.

From the historian's perspective, it is unfortunate that the title of the book does not reflect its contents. Historians, accustomed to thinking about the frontier in Turnerian terms, may be surprised to find a study focusing on colonial South Carolina as a frontier. That this is a patently legitimate concept is further evidence that the two fields ought to communicate more frequently rather than less.

Lewis states that this study "is to analyze an individual instance of colonization as an example of a general process to shed light on this larger phenomenon and identify aspects of it that will be useful in refining our models of agricultural frontier development" (p. 5). He then puts South Carolina forward as an example of agricultural coloniza-

tion in British North America. After developing and presenting a frontier model and a brief account of the frontier experience in South Carolina, Lewis presents eleven hypotheses relating to the establishment, spatial patterning, expansion, settlement pattern, distribution of activities, and colonization gradient of the South Carolina frontier experience. The bulk of information he uses is based on the record of past archaeological investigations conducted in South Carolina. Efforts are made to draw generalizations from this information and to test the hypotheses that have been presented. Although one may quibble with the author's choice of examples, his presentation and his conclusions offer new insight and understanding to historical archaeologists and historians alike.

The first two and the final two chapters are general and seem at times somewhat removed from either the South Carolina example or the historical period on which this volume is based. They are valuable for the historian in that they present a type of analysis with which many of us are not familiar.

Historical archaeologists will find this an excellent addition to the many regional studies in archaeology that have appeared in recent years and will also appreciate the attempts at model building, analysis, and generalization. Historians will find new insight into what their social science colleagues are doing and will find both tidbits of information and historical analysis to enhance their knowledge of frontier South Carolina. Perhaps in years to come, this can be accomplished in ways easier for the traditional historian to comprehend, but for now this is a good beginning.

J. EDWIN HENDRICKS
Wake Forest University

STEPHEN SAUNDERS WEBB. *1676: The End of American Independence*. (Borzo.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf or Random House, Toronto; distributed by Random House, New York. 1984. Pp. xx, 440. \$25.00.

In his first book, *The Governors-General*, Stephen Saunders Webb described the development of what he perceived as the predominantly military character and imperial intent of English expansion from the sixteenth through the seventeenth century. In this second substantial volume, he identifies the year 1676 as the decisive one for English America—a time of devastating conflict along the eastern seaboard and of the crown's resolute intervention, one so significant as to mark the end of American independence for a century to come. In less dramatic form, this theme of England's late seventeenth-century regulation of the American colonies has been told many times before. Webb condenses the action and presents a cast of new or refurbished

heroes—Nathaniel Bacon and his fellow protestors in Virginia; Edmund Andros, soldier-imperialist and far-sighted governor of New York; and Garancantié, Onondaga Indian leader, whose diplomacy preserved the power of the Iroquois confederacy in the face of the encroaching French and English. At the center of power, as in Webb's first book, broods that "vilified prince," James, Duke of York, patron of the English officer-governors bent on imposing garrison government on America. Successive chapters interweave the year's events as seen from Virginia, London, and (especially) New York. This is in several senses an Empire State interpretation, the view from Lake Onondaga.

The book has several conspicuous virtues. It is written with verve and assurance: Webb has a Pepysian eye for detail. His exceptional command of the official records allows him to demonstrate the breadth and interplay of English overseas interests during 1676. The juxtaposition of European with Amerindian interests and aspirations is original and effective.

Within this impressive framework, however, Webb presses his case for the significance of his chosen year with such fervor that vivid writing shades into special pleading. His argument that not only Bacon but also his confederates became political and ideological revolutionaries aiming at the Chesapeake's independence from England rests on evidence that he himself characterizes as suspect. In addition, he glosses over the conclusion of modern scholars that Bacon had little hand in any reform legislation. Conversely, Webb overstates, I believe, both the impact of the crown's response on Virginia society and London's commitment in 1676 to the imposition of direct royal government on America. As for events in New York, Webb draws on the work of Francis Jennings to construct a strong case for Andros's contribution to the forging of the covenant chain with the Iroquois. But his repeated references to personal negotiations between Andros and Garaconté between 1675 and 1677 are not sustained by any good evidence that the Onondaga leader, a Catholic convert celebrated for his pro-French policy, masterminded the Iroquois's alliance with the English or that the two men ever even met face to face.

In part, these criticisms are a consequence of Webb's decision, in presenting a complex story, to credit a few individuals with exceptional powers to shape events. Then, too, the reader soon appreciates that Webb, in good seventeenth-century style, plainly relishes celebrating what he sees as the forces of light (the many colonists he finds oppressed by a corrupt provincial oligarchy and their deliverers, the militant servants of James Stuart) and chastising those of darkness, whether these are Virginia's "cloddish" and "hysterical autarchs" or New

England's racist and "mealy-mouthed" leaders. In the unfolding of this (Tory populist?) perspective, some inconsistencies are neglected and some factual revisions undocumented. But the chase is always exciting, the scholarship thorough, and the central theme of real importance. This is a profitably exasperating book.

RICHARD R. JOHNSON
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PETER CHARLES HOFFER and N. E. H. HULL. *Impeachment in America, 1635-1805*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1984. Pp. xiv, 325. \$30.00.

This book stands in sharp contrast to Raoul Berger's influential *Impeachment: The Constitutional Problems* (1974). Berger's book is a forcefully argued lawyer's brief designed to rescue the broad-based concept of impeachment established in the Constitution from the restrictive gloss imposed on it by the nineteenth-century impeachment trials of Samuel Chase and Andrew Johnson. Whereas Berger focused on English impeachment law as the controlling source of American doctrine, Peter Charles Hoffer and N. E. H. Hull see American impeachment as more indigenous than derivative—the end product of developments running deep in colonial history. Their methodological assumption is that American impeachment doctrine is to be found not in isolated citations of English authorities but in actual impeachment cases at the colonial, state, and national levels. The strength of their argument rests on an exhaustive analysis of these cases.

Part 1 treats the transplantation of English impeachment to the colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Doctrinal development remained inchoate in the seventeenth century but took form in the eighteenth because British authority resisted the efforts of colonial lower houses to remove corrupt royal officials. English precedents continued to be consulted, but eighteenth-century colonials increasingly adjusted inherited ideas to American needs. By the late colonial period, impeachment proceedings in colonial assemblies challenged not only executive corruption in the colonies but also imperial authority itself.

Impeachment in America came to maturity during the period 1776-88 (treated in part 2), as the legacy of the colonial impeachment experience was institutionalized and brought into harmony with republican ideas of civic virtue. According to Hoffer and Hull, developments at the state level were crucial during this period and lead directly to the provisions of Article II, section 4 of the Constitution. On both levels American doctrine differed considerably from English practice. Impeachment lay for cause only and applied only to public offi-

cials; punishment was limited to removal from office. The wide discretion given the House of Lords in impeachment trials gave way in America to more carefully specified procedures for the protection of defendants. Despite limitations, however, it was generally understood in America that impeachment was not confined to indictable offenses but applied to official incompetence and abuse or misuse of power.

Parts 3 and 4 deal with impeachment developments on the state and federal levels after the ratification of the Constitution, culminating in the impeachment trial of Supreme Court Justice Samuel Chase in 1805. The decisive question of this period, the authors argue, is whether the fair and objective procedures hammered out during the Revolutionary period can withstand the tendency of newly emerging political parties to bend impeachment to partisan ends. The acquittal of Chase in 1805 may be seen as a decisive repudiation of political impeachment as well as a reaffirmation of the broad, noncriminal nature of impeachment law.

The argument is entirely persuasive; indeed, the book is a model of objective and relevant scholarship. The case-by-case analysis leads unavoidably to dense prose, but lucid introductions to sections and chapter summaries succeed in keeping the complicated argument in focus. Description and analysis are nicely balanced, and the authors avoid the reductionism so frequently found in studies of legal doctrine. Thoroughness of research and clarity of analysis combine to make this book the most authoritative account of the origins of American impeachment law.

R. KENT NEWMYER
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DARRETT B. RUTMAN and ANITA H. RUTMAN. *A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia, 1650-1750*. With *Explicatus*. New York: W. W. Norton or George J. McLeod, Toronto. 1984. Pp. 287; ix, 207. \$19.95; \$30.00.

Just as one thinks that the brilliant scholarship on the colonial Chesapeake has run its course, along comes another book more radiant than its predecessors. The latest example is Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman's lustrous reconstruction of the social life of Middlesex County, Virginia, between 1650 and 1750. The outline of their narrative is by now well known—a relatively fluid frontier society providing modest opportunity for ex-servants is recast into a class society following the mass introduction of slave labor in the late seventeenth century. What makes these volumes distinctive, if not originality of plot, is the Rutmans' attention to individual choices and fates, their imaginative and

documentary reconstruction of circles of social activity, and their novel conceptualization of social networks in frontier and class societies. *A Place in Time*, particularly the first volume, offers the best introduction to life in the colonial Chesapeake, which is saying a great deal in light of the recent and exceptional books by Gloria Main and Rhys Isaac.

The Rutmans' study of Middlesex comes in two volumes having quite different intents. The first volume is for the general reader. It narrates social and economic changes in Middlesex County and their effects on the white population. The second volume, entitled *Explicatus* and directed toward Chesapeake scholars, provides topical summaries of the voluminous data stripped from the Middlesex records and locates the Rutmans' conclusions in the context of previous historical interpretation. Since the rest of this review discusses the narrative volume, a listing of the topics covered in *Explicatus* may be useful for the specialist. These are: tobacco prices and productivity, demography, parental loss, child-naming patterns, social networks, wealth, status, literacy, and slave populations.

The first volume narrates in roughly linear fashion a century of social and economic change in Middlesex. The early chapters deal with frontier Middlesex, a relatively fluid society with modest opportunities for upward mobility by freed servants. The middle section of the book examines the dislocations in white society occasioned by the introduction of slavery. And the final chapters sketch the stratified society that had emerged by the 1730s. Although this story is a familiar one for students of the tobacco coast, the Rutmans' collective biographies etch the human drama associated with abstract change.

Certain examples stand out, as, for example, their treatment of Bacon's rebellion in Middlesex. Eschewing grand interpretation, the authors look carefully at Bacon's local supporters, discovering them to be a diverse lot bound together not so much by class (which scarcely existed in a frontier society) as by the frustration of personal circumstance and an inclination for trouble making. The fragile institutions of frontier Middlesex had little power over people spoiling for a fight. Yet institutions uniting a dispersed tobacco-planting population were emerging. Central among these, in the Rutmans' novel view, was an ascending concentric spatial order. Dispersed families were grouped into local neighborhoods, several miles in diameter and consisting of friends and, as native population grew, relatives; neighborhoods, in turn, ascended to the precinct, with the church at the social center; and precincts ascended to the county and its court. This structure of concentric circles provided order for a dispersed population. It sufficed for getting roads built, processioning the land, caring for the indigent and the

orphaned, and maintaining a fragile peace. A half-century later, the concentric spatial order of Middlesex had shifted, like sliding rings in a magic show, into a series of tangential circles. These circles bounded networks defined by class and economic activity rather than geographical proximity. Cosmopolitan elites, urban merchants, middling and poor planters, and slaves conducted their lives in separate circles, rarely intersecting. And, when they did, interactions were characterized by ritual and formality.

Slavery, according to the Rutmans, was the root cause of these dramatic social changes. Unlike previous exponents of this thesis, however, the Rutmans vividly re-create the personal dramas that confronted white planters in a slave society. Winners and losers were often determined by demographic fate. While a fertile female slave might unlock opportunity for a small planter, the premature death of that slave might send him toward insolvency. For those who could not afford slaves, customary routes of mobility were foreclosed. White tenants discovered that slaves cultivated land formerly rented to whites. Freedmen and poor whites, frustrated in accumulating capital for land, left the county or, according to the Rutmans' evidence, spent what little they had on the soporific of consumer goods. These discrete personal dramas summed to a new social order, predicated on class and articulated by ritual.

Provocative interpretation such as the Rutmans' invites overextrapolation by readers. We should heed the authors' caveat that theirs is a work of local history pertinent to the evolution of class society in one corner of the Chesapeake—the sweet-scented tobacco lands between the James and the Rapahannock. Indeed, scholars of the upper Chesapeake have described a very different sort of class society, one that was characterized by frequent interclass exchange, by elite courting of the poor and middling sort, by elite affectation of plebian tastes, and by elite concessions to the popular will. The Rutmans' Middlesex, with its tangential class geometry, its ritualization of class interaction, and its refinement of class emblems, seems a world apart. How could such sharp differences in class society have arisen within the tobacco coast? One plausible explanation has to do with the institution of tenantry. In the upper Chesapeake, the poor persisted because tenancy and diversification provided a rude sufficiency despite slave competition. The tenantry of Middlesex, however, seems to have collapsed shortly after slaves were introduced in large numbers. The regional variation in the abundance or scarcity of the poor was a key determinant for class interaction and structure.

Although limited in its geographical scope, *A Place in Time* is a seminal work in Chesapeake

history. The volumes offer a new conceptualization of class based on interaction; they provide us with methods for the historical measurement of interaction; and they reunite dramatic biography with the broader forces of social and economic change. The selfish reader, delighted by this charming work, will want of the authors' just one more place in time. My request is for the Northern Neck or southern Maryland where class relations demanded more wit, diplomacy, and class concession than did those of Middlesex.

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JOHN SOLOMON OTTO. *Cannon's Point Plantation, 1794-1860: Living Conditions and Status Patterns in the Old South*. (Studies in Historical Archaeology.) Orlando, Fla.: Academic. 1984. Pp. xvii, 217. \$22.00.

As an archaeological report, this work is an important test of several recent theories on material culture and a bench mark for future investigations. As a general historical interpretation of the daily lives of slaves, overseers, and planters in the Old South, it tends to confirm earlier, more traditional studies.

Although there had been European settlement on the site as early as the 1730s, John Solomon Otto limits his examination to the period 1794-1860, during which time Cannon's Point was operated as a sea island cotton plantation by the Couper family. It was abandoned in 1862, passed through several owners, and was actively farmed again from 1876 to 1890.

Cannon's Point presents a unique opportunity to examine sites occupied continuously by three distinct levels of plantation society: slaves, overseers, and planters. With known status and time constants, the archaeologists hoped to be able to determine the access that each component of that society had to the plantation's surplus. By examining the archaeological remains for housing, food, and possessions, hypotheses could be advanced concerning the racial, economic, and social differences among those who lived at Cannon's Point.

In separate chapters the author examines the living conditions of the plantation's slaves, overseers, and owners. The archaeological findings added little to the rich documentary materials describing the Coupers and their life-styles. It is interesting to note, however, that they ate their share of raccoons, seemed partial to turtles of all sorts, and on at least one occasion dined on alligator.

The chapters on the overseers and the slaves provide glimpses into their daily lives. In terms of housing, the overseers were better off than the

slaves, but their dietary habits were remarkably similar: hunting and fishing was used to supplement the rations of both. The fish and animal remains found on their housing sites indicate that they had to be content with the fish and game found on or near Cannon's Point. Both ate a great deal of fish, especially marine catfish, and consumed raccoon and opossum. Slaves seemed to prefer opossum, while the overseers ate "possum and 'coon" in nearly equal measure. Ceramics indicated that both slaves and overseers cooked "one-pot meals" like stews and pileaus.

The findings concerning food and material possessions support the assertions Avery Craven made more than a half-century ago and point to the need to pay more attention to the daily life-styles of the majority of white southerners who were not members of the planting elite. It is true that most traditional nineteenth-century whites seldom knew life in the slave cabin and rarely ventured into the overseer's world. Archaeological investigations such as the one at Cannon's Point can be of great assistance in helping us to understand the daily life-styles of slaves and nonelite whites.

Archaeological evidence alone does not tell the complete story and, to his credit, Otto makes use of traditional documentary and secondary materials to present his case. He repeatedly reminds the reader of the bias of "ethnohistorical sources," but without their lavish use this would have been a slim volume, indeed.

This is a useful book, but the author considerably overstates the importance of the plantation from which it draws its title. No evidence presented substantiates the claim that Cannon's Point "was one of the most historically significant plantations in the tidewater culture area of the Old South" (p. 17) or that it "was one of the largest plantations of the Old South" (p. 121). In South Carolina alone, a list of two dozen or more plantations could be compiled to contradict both claims. If tidewater Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, and Florida were included, it is likely that Cannon's Point would be way down the list.

Even if Cannon's Point were not one of the great plantations of the antebellum South, the ways in which its inhabitants went about their daily lives will be of interest to historians and archaeologists.

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ROBERT H. WIEBE. *The Opening of American Society: From the Adoption of the Constitution to the Eve of Disunion*. (Borzo.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1984. Pp. xv, 427. \$25.00.

Let us give the devil his due: Robert H. Wiebe always writes provocative books. Even when he

resurrects old ideas or offers simplistic explanations, Wiebe is a unique historian (somewhat in the mold of Richard Hofstadter) who is invariably stimulating, sometimes disturbing, and frequently challenging. He ranges over wide areas of history and never fails to provide unusual insights into the historical forces he reviews.

The present volume is a case in point. It traverses American history for the entire early national period and then provides an epilogue that quickly threads its way through the Civil War and Reconstruction and comes to rest at the beginning of the twentieth century. More important, it offers an unusual analysis of the early period, frequently salted with startling observations.

Wiebe is at pains to explain the process by which a national society was formed in the United States, and he argues that it occurred roughly from the adoption of the Constitution to the outbreak of the Civil War and proceeded in two distinct stages. The first and most obvious was a conscious effort by what Wiebe calls the "gentry minority" to fashion a government from the top even though this group neither represented nor spoke for a national constituency. The thoughts and ideas of such men mainly reflected those of the European Enlightenment. This stage encompassed the period of the writing and ratification of the Constitution, extended through the administrations of George Washington and John Adams, and "peaked" with the election of Thomas Jefferson.

The second stage involved an "unplanned accumulation of activities" (p. xi), such as the emergence of popular politics and the rise of economic self-determination, that developed by the 1820s and spread rapidly during the 1830s. This stage, in most instances, provided Americans with the freedom to choose. They seized this power of choice whenever and wherever they spotted it and guarded it zealously once they had it. The evolution of a democratic society by the 1840s annihilated almost everything erected by the Revolutionary gentry, except "the shell of their Constitution" (p. xii), but it also enhanced the development of a truly national society. This democratic society, Wiebe argues, originated in family life, demanded individual responsibility, and assumed that each individual would determine his own affairs. Thus, America had two histories: the first was rooted in an eighteenth-century heritage and directed by an elite who formed a government under the Constitution, provided for an ongoing and orderly national administration, established a central banking system, and, in short, gave the country all those institutional "superstructures" that were essential to governmental permanence. At the same time that these "superstructures" arose to order American growth, a democratic society slowly emerged through the "revolution in

choices" (p. 143) made possible by the many new activities undertaken by Americans at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This new democracy coexisted with a highly developed class structure to form a culture that, though national, was badly scarred by regional hostilities. This analysis of the democratization of America is Wiebe's most valuable contribution to our understanding of the period, and, hence, his discussion of the importance of choices to Americans is the central section of the study.

Much of the book is idiosyncratic, and not everyone will capitulate to Wiebe's assessments. But he also offers some interesting observations that command attention. For example, he finds no ideological difference between Jefferson and Hamilton: they were both in essential agreement over the need for "a common brand of gentry governance" (p. xiii) to manage an independent republic. Wiebe also dates the industrialization of America to the final decades of the nineteenth century and therefore does not see a sharp sectional conflict in antebellum America between an industrial North and an agrarian South. He finds Americans enlarging and refining their institutions as they ceaselessly expanded over a broad continent. Like Frederick Jackson Turner, Wiebe identifies the existence of an enormous land mass as the most powerful influence in shaping the new democratic society.

At times the book seems traditional in its approach to major events and issues, and the reader wonders if the author has stopped to consider some of the newer interpretations of the period. Republicanism is mentioned on occasion, but it does not carry the ideological baggage that historians of the last dozen years have discovered in it. Nor does the book have the sophistication of analysis that characterizes recent research on the Indian problem. Wiebe seems convinced that most Americans advocated genocide. Even so, historians will find much in this book to admire and ponder as they continue to rethink the era between the Revolution and the Civil War.

ROBERT V. REMINI
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Chicago*

DAVID F. EPSTEIN. *The Political Theory of The Federalist*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1984. Pp. ix, 234. \$22.00.

ALBERT FURTWANGLER. *The Authority of Publius: A Reading of the Federalist Papers*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1984. Pp. 151. \$14.95.

These two books exemplify sharply contrasting ways of reading the *Federalist*. Indeed, each effectively

repudiates the other's approach. Albert Furtwangler, stressing the rhetorical form and context of the *Federalist*, warns against taking it too seriously as systematic political theory (p. 39), whereas David F. Epstein, giving an extremely close reading of the text, warns against overrating the significance of the circumstances of its composition (p. 2). Both warnings are well taken.

For Furtwangler, the *Federalist* is to be seen as a thoughtful case for constitutional government, a case advanced in a specific, historic context. Note-worthy aspects include the recent emergence of a wide, literate audience for such debate, the legal safeguards for a free press that made dissemination possible, and the high-minded, candid tone that contributed to the work's enduring authority. These circumstances made room for a new theory of the bond between ruler and ruled. Development of that theory was aided, but scarcely completed, by the *Federalist*. Indeed, its theoretical ramifications were little discussed before the present century. But Furtwangler writes that the acceptance of government is founded more on habit than on logic and that the *Federalist* serves chiefly as a fine example of the value of civilized public debate, even though it had little impact on the course of the ratification struggle.

Epstein maintains that the haste, seriality, and joint authorship of the *Federalist's* creation do not impeach its theoretical status. Its literary antecedents are not the debates in English newspapers but the works of Locke, Hume, and Montesquieu. Epstein considers the *Federalist* as a powerful theory of how government can be made to secure both private rights and the public good, that is, how government can be energetic while remaining true to the republican principles of popular sovereignty and individual liberty. The primary innovations are Madison's ideas on the separation of powers and on faction and representation in a large republic. In expounding these ideas, Epstein tends to find major theoretical significance in nuances of phrasing that might have been casually adopted. In some cases he clearly reads ideas into the text that are not there. For example, he interprets Madison's concept of "wholly popular government" as positing that "all men are included in their individual capacities as voters" (p. 195), as if the *Federalist* advocated universal suffrage.

In overview, neither book says much about the *Federalist* that is new. Most needed, I think, are critical studies testing the validity of the crucial empirical propositions in the work. Without such studies it will remain difficult to justify treating the *Federalist* as a treatise in political science rather than as ideology.

For example, Madison claims that in a republican government majority tyranny is a greater danger than minority tyranny and that the legislature, rather than the executive, is the greater threat to

liberty. Robert Dahl's *Preface to Democratic Theory* demolishes the former claim; the latter is more controversial. Many would defend it; others would hold that, even if it is false today, it was true when written, before the advent of modern bureaucracy and nuclear warfare. My own *Governmental Secrecy and the Founding Fathers* shows clearly, however, that, even in Washington's time, the executive branch was decidedly the strongest; neither the formal powers nor the motives of legislative leaders were adequate to prevent administrations from embroiling the country in dangerous ventures at home and abroad. Leaders and masses alike focused on the presidential election as the decisive mechanism of constitutional control. Although the government was divided into separate branches, men's conflicting ambitions did not counteract each other as Madison had promised in No. 51. Indeed, as leader of the opposition in the House of Representatives, Madison himself was more concerned with capturing the presidency for his party than with checking the institutional ascendancy of the executive branch.

Thus, it is not hard to argue that the *Federalist* is internally inconsistent and empirically incorrect in important ways. That it remains an outstanding monument of American political thought testifies not only to patriotic sentimentality or to the mediocrity of much of the subsequent literature but also, as both authors recognize, to the invaluable contributions to private rights and the public good that constitutionalism has made.

DANIEL N. HOFFMAN

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IRA L. MANDELKER. *Religion, Society, and Utopia in Nineteenth-Century America*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1984. Pp. 181. \$22.00.

In this book sociologist Ira L. Mandelker ventures into territory well traversed by historians: the social, economic, and religious changes that gave birth to the rapid growth of utopian communities in nineteenth-century America. Employing Max Weber's theories and using John Humphrey Noyes and the Oneida Community as a case study, Mandelker examines the role of this leader's religious theology, or ideology, as an effort to heal and bind personal and cultural tensions.

Mandelker divides his book into three main sections. After a brief introduction, part 2, containing four chapters, analyzes the tensions and contradictions besetting nineteenth-century America. In broad strokes Mandelker gives separate treatment to a number of interrelated cultural tensions between Protestantism and the emerging secular order, between religion and political democracy, between religion and familial relationships, and, finally, between religion and science.

Part 3, comprising three chapters, shows how Noyes attempted to mend these rents in the social fabric through Perfectionism and then how he organized Oneida around his Perfectionist beliefs. Historians and sociologists alike have been fascinated with Noyes and Oneida, and they have chronicled the community's successes and ultimate failure. In accounting for Oneida's demise, Mandelker presents a striking thesis. Unlike most, who find the causes for the final breakup in social structural changes over time, Mandelker, though acknowledging such changes, locates a fundamental, more integral cause in the basic contradictions contained within the Perfectionist ideology. Indeed, Noyes's Perfectionism was never strong enough to hold the basic cultural contradictions together.

Mandelker deserves praise for highlighting the meaning of Noyes's Perfectionism, for, if anything, he reminds us that ideas can be potent shapers of a reality. His book, nevertheless, has serious drawbacks. His discussion of nineteenth-century trends and his use of Weberian theory remain too ethereal, barely anchored in real people and real events. From a reading of this book one can not fully appreciate the fact that Noyes's Perfectionism was a multifaceted, multilayered ideology that not only appealed to diverse personalities but was also geared to different emotional levels over time. In Mandelker's hands, Noyes's Perfectionism has a homogenized quality about it.

Another serious drawback is that Mandelker's basic research is at best spotty. This holds true for his reading in nineteenth-century secondary source material, especially on the family and gender relationships, but it is most glaring in his research on Noyes and Oneida. He has, for instance, neglected the full range of primary sources housed at Syracuse University, and he has not consulted a number of important unpublished manuscripts, notably, Robert Fogarty's on Oneida and Marilyn Hart Dalsimer's on women's roles at Oneida. He has also failed to consult two of the more important recent books that have dealt with Noyes and Oneida: Louis J. Kern's *An Ordered Love* (1981) and Lawrence Foster's *Religion and Sexuality* (1981).

In sum, despite his fresh slant in discussing Noyes's Perfectionism, Mandelker does not add appreciably either to our understanding of Noyes and Oneida or to the complexity of the period.

ROBERT DAVID THOMAS
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ROBERT A. MCCAUGHEY. *International Studies and Academic Enterprise: A Chapter in the Enclosure of American Learning*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1984. Pp. xviii, 301. \$28.00.

How educated Americans formed their knowledge of societies and cultures beyond Western Europe since 1800 offers an immensely stimulating topic of study and is the subject of Robert A. McCaughey's book. The author rightly argues that the single most important change that occurred in the style of this conceptualization was its academicization, which became dominant only in the post-World War II period.

The opening four chapters, dealing with the period 1810–1940, describe the occasional gentleman-scholars, mainly language enthusiasts often linked to Protestant missionary activity, who published books on non-European areas of the globe. The later rise and fall of the foreign correspondent is briefly set forth, and the severe limitations of a diplomatic career as an avenue toward study of foreign cultures are made clear. McCaughey then shows that “exotic” studies began to appear on the margins of American academia, beginning with Sanskrit (developed as a conscious symbol of parity with German universities) about 1900 and expanding after 1920 into such areas as Chinese and Latin American studies.

The last four chapters of the book discuss the great transformation that occurred after World War II, when “area studies” bloomed almost overnight, funded by the Ford Foundation, whose role is narrated and scrutinized. In the epilogue McCaughey argues that the perception of decline in these academic undertakings since 1970 may well be exaggerated (except for Russian studies), and he tries to cast doubt on the notion of an impending critical shortage of academic experts with knowledge of particular regions of the world.

As an institutional history of both American academia and the Ford Foundation, McCaughey's book has considerable value. Replete with statistics, the factual survey of the history of teaching about foreign cultures in American universities breaks new ground. The chapters on the Ford Foundation are lucid and make some use of the foundation's archive.

But the book is baffling in that its premises are never made sufficiently clear and disappointing in that it fails to treat most of its material in adequate contextual depth. Refreshingly enough, McCaughey wants to defend the nonacademic amateurs, even the Protestant missionaries, and the early academic popularizers, such as Herbert E. Bolton, against the academic empire-builders of the Ford Foundation era. He says that “something” was lost when the study of distant societies became academicized in a research-oriented climate (see, for example, p. 72). But he too seldom describes in substantive terms what this “something” was. He seems to favor popularization for its own sake, regardless of the nature or quality of the ideas being

popularized. He does not analyze sufficiently the content of the ideas about foreign cultures that various kinds of academics and nonacademics held or the precise social contexts these people came from and the specific audiences the nonacademics addressed. The audiences were often not truly "popular" at all, or, if they were (as with southern planters and McCarthyites), they sometimes represented the least attractive forces in American life, as McCaughey fleetingly admits. He thus supplies no reasoned basis for preferring popularizers to academic experts.

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JOHN MCALEER. *Ralph Waldo Emerson: Days of Encounter*. Boston: Little, Brown. 1984. Pp. xix, 748. \$27.50.

One may well question the need for a new biography of Ralph Waldo Emerson, a man whose life has been exhaustively documented and discussed. It is much to John McAleer's credit that he presents a fresh and intriguing picture of Emerson written in graphic prose. Although McAleer's reasoning is less satisfying than the overall effect of this study of character, this is an important book for students of the biographical craft and for specialists of the American Renaissance.

McAleer's Emerson is surprising because he is an eminently sociable man. This is not the contemplative seer or irresponsible individualist sometimes portrayed but a person of wide acquaintance and deep, often tangled, friendships and family ties. McAleer's plan was to write an intimate history of Emerson's private relations and to focus on "crises advancing the progress of the soul," that is, the "days of encounter" (p. xiii). As a result, the book's structure is episodic. McAleer probes Emerson's personality by analyzing brief meetings of all kinds—walks, talks, dinners, excursions—between Emerson and a striking parade of nineteenth-century figures, not just such Concord neighbors as Nathaniel Hawthorne, Henry David Thoreau, and Amos Bronson Alcott found in most Emerson studies but also William Dean Howells, John Muir, Charles Eliot Norton, Edward Bok, and many others.

This analytic strategy gives full play to McAleer's special skills. To approach Emerson the man, McAleer makes masterly use of what others said about the writer. Moreover, McAleer has a sharp eye for the subtleties of dramatic human contacts and is able to convey meaning in equally bold strokes.

But his method has limitations, too. There is more discretion in selecting significant "encounters" than

one may suppose. McAleer sets Emerson in a genteel literary circle, where Emerson to some extent belongs, but does so at the expense of Emerson's other connections to ministers, reformers, intellectuals, and the ordinary people who made up his public. So restricted a notion of social context indicates, in this case at least, the slight impact of social history on literary biography. More problematic in a study of a man who was an intellectual of astonishing range is the scant discussion of ideas. Occasionally, there are brilliant glimpses of Emerson's methods of composition, but, on the whole, his thinking is ignored to the extent that the book lapses at times into anecdotes about writers. Most frustrating for historians, McAleer's use of a series of single meetings to advance his story discourages generalizations and explanations about change in Emerson's character and views over time.

These reservations do not undercut the excitement about Emerson and his world evoked by this study. In ways that McAleer cannot quite pin down with logic but can communicate with language, Emerson comes alive in his personal relations. That Emerson himself would have approved of this literary method is no small recommendation for a valuable book.

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FREDERICK C. DRAKE. *The Empire of the Seas: A Biography of Rear Admiral Robert Wilson Shufeldt, USN*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1984. Pp. xv, 468. \$29.95.

This book by Frederick C. Drake is a welcome addition to the literature on the nineteenth-century U.S. Navy, for this is the first complete biography of Robert Wilson Shufeldt, who was perhaps the most articulate naval exponent of commercial imperialism between Matthew Calbraith Perry and Alfred T. Mahan.

Born in New York in 1822, Shufeldt entered the navy in 1839 and resigned after fifteen years of varied service to command merchant steamers. His expansionist ideas were stimulated by employment with the Louisiana-Tehuantepec Company, which led to his interest in the Mexican isthmus as the site of an interoceanic canal. He left the New Orleans-based company in 1861 and became consul-general in Havana, where he helped Charles Wilkes plan the *Trent* affair before returning to the navy in 1863. A postwar cruise on the Asiatic Station brought the Orient into his dream of commercial expansion; he linked it to the proposed Tehuantepec canal, for which he conducted a later survey. In 1878–79 Commodore Shufeldt took the USS *Ticonderoga* on a voyage of circumnavigation to

locate new markets and strengthen ties with old ones, culminating in a effort to negotiate a treaty with Korea. Returning to China in State Department employ in 1881, he obtained the Korean treaty through the agency of Li Hung-chang, viceroy of China's Hopei province. Before Shufeldt could be rewarded for this triumph, a letter in which he had described Li and the Chinese empress in unflattering terms was published in American newspapers. Li took little notice, and the treaty was duly ratified, yet this occurrence clouded Shufeldt's final years in the navy. He did, however, head the second advisory board that charted the modest beginning of the "new" navy in 1882.

Shufeldt emerges from these pages as an ambitious officer adept at the use of political influence, as a difficult subordinate, and as a rather unusual husband and father who much preferred a niece, sixteen years his junior, whom he adopted after his wife's death. He professed devotion to his country and his service but eagerly sought command of the Chinese navy. His plans for himself, the navy, and the U.S. generally had little result; of the two major exceptions, the Korean treaty could not have been negotiated without Li's assistance, and the second advisory board owed much more to its predecessor than Drake acknowledges.

Drake used an array of sources, including Shufeldt's voluminous papers, to good purpose to describe his subject's personal life and diplomatic activities, but his knowledge of the navy is less satisfactory. For example, he erroneously credits Shufeldt with command of a sloop of war, not a barque, as a junior officer (p. 8), and he confuses a master (a navigating officer in the navy) with a master mariner. One could wish for more information on some matters, especially the Low-Rodgers expedition and the first advisory board. Also, Drake should have compared Shufeldt's *Ticonderoga* cruise with that of "Mad Jack" Percival on the USS *Constitution* thirty-five years earlier, which was similar in purpose and results. Nonetheless, this is a good book.

ROBERT ERWIN JOHNSON
University of Alabama

CHARLES TODORICH. *The Spirited Years: A History of the Antebellum Naval Academy*. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 1984. Pp. xviii, 215. \$19.95.

This work expands our knowledge of the U.S. Naval Academy from its establishment in 1845 to its removal to Newport, Rhode Island, during the Civil War. Charles Todorich, a 1970 graduate of the academy, has fashioned a readable account from archival and printed sources and with a special indebtedness to Thomas G. Ford's unpublished

manuscript of 1887 on the history of the academy. It is largely the story of the efforts of the various superintendents to curb unruly midshipmen and to improve the physical and intellectual environment of the school. Other important concerns are the debate on education versus training and the relative merits of theoretical and practical knowledge. The study is enhanced by a number of illustrations and tables, as well as by an attractive printing and binding.

The book was worth doing, but its value would have been enhanced by additional research in the source materials. Archival records relating to the navy, such as miscellaneous letters and letters to officers, would have provided more insight into the background of those appointed midshipmen. Armed with such information, the author would have been in a better position to compare his findings with those published by Peter Karsten in *The Naval Aristocracy* (1972). As it is, Todorich's database is too small for any serious refutation of the Karsten thesis.

Educational institutions usually point to the careers of their successful graduates as proof of the quality of the instruction. It is surprising to find no extended discussion in this book of what the men who passed through the academy during these years did with their lives. A reader who did not know the subsequent careers of George Dewey, Winfield Scott Schley, William T. Sampson, and Charles D. Sigsbee, among others, will get no clues from the text. Others whose contributions are less well known are not mentioned.

The editing of the book could have been better. The names of the midshipmen are inconsistently rendered. The surname of Secretary of the Navy James C. Dobbin is consistently misspelled. An alleged quotation from John Paul Jones is used in a footnote (p. 87) and paraphrased in a chapter head (p. 131). Despite these distractions, there is some useful and entertaining information in the book.

HAROLD D. LANGLEY
Smithsonian Institution

MYRA C. GLENN. *Campaigns against Corporal Punishment: Prisoners, Sailors, Women, and Children in Antebellum America*. (SUNY Series in American Social History.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1984. Pp. x, 221. Cloth \$34.50, paper \$10.95.

Although this monograph is limited to the decades before the Civil War, it has much relevance for those interested in the human rights movement during the decades after the Korean War. Myra C. Glenn does a fine comparative analysis of the naval, prison, domestic, and educational reform campaigns against corporal punishment in New England and

New York from the late 1820s to the late 1850s. She places the crusade against corporal punishment in the context of other contemporary reform movements, such as the crusades against intemperance and slavery. Although Glenn does not deal with the psychological motivations behind the campaigns, she does show how regional and political differences affected discussion of punishment and discipline in the period. These differences remain today. Modern spin-offs from the black civil rights movement of the 1960s become more meaningful after reading this study, for a contagion factor is at work among the student, women, inmate, gay, and native American movements.

Glenn's study is made more interesting by her discussion of such well-known historical figures in the campaigns against corporal punishment as Benjamin Rush, Horace Mann, Dorothea Lynde Dix, Commodore Matthew C. Perry, Senator John Parker Hale, Herman Melville, and Walt Whitman. Mann, who was able to empathize with others who were subjected to physical pain because of his own experiences as a student, is treated in the greatest depth. The reformers gained momentum during the 1840s and were eventually largely successful in their efforts. The U.S. Navy stopped flogging, and schools and prisons tended to use it much less frequently.

Although the author does not cite the work of modern social scientists, her findings support psychological models of political development. After the physical and social needs of the population in the urban Northeast had been satisfied, leaders there had the time to think beyond mere survival. They turned their attention outward and were able to empathize with the victims of corporal punishment. A similar elite phenomenon is reflected in those making up Amnesty International and its campaigns against imprisonment of political prisoners, torture, and capital punishment. This highly readable study may offer hope to those involved in modern campaigns for human rights.

WILLIAM D. PEDERSON
Louisiana State University,
Shreveport

LUCY M. COHEN. *Chinese in the Post-Civil War South: A People Without a History*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1984. Pp. xviii, 211. \$22.50.

In the search for cheap labor following the Civil War, planters and railroad companies in Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi experimented for about a decade with the use of Chinese workers. But this effort was short-lived because of federal prohibitions against importing coolie labor and because the Chinese proved to be expensive workers.

Fewer than one thousand Chinese moved to the South, and most of them floated from job to job.

With the loss of slave labor, planters looked to China and Cuba for Chinese workers. In the case of Cuba, they planned to recruit those workers whose labor contracts had expired. Southerners also sought California's Chinese and contacted Cornelius Koopmanschap, a major recruiter for Charles Crocker of the Central Pacific Railroad. Koopmanschap and others in California, including some Chinese, brought several contingents to the South. Lucy M. Cohen suggests that the Chinese Six Companies maintained control over the Chinese from the West Coast and that these commercial firms had direct connections with Chinese businesses in New Orleans. Unfortunately, she neither develops the depth of this relationship nor shows how control was exercised over the Chinese in the South.

The Chinese were put to work, but employers discovered that these laborers understood labor contracts well and refused to do anything not specified. As in the West, the Chinese worked in gangs under a headman who served as their contact with the employer. If terms were changed, the Chinese rebelled or left, and occasional shootings resulted from contractual arguments.

In this well-researched study of the Chinese on the plantations, Cohen traces their eventual dispersion throughout the South. Although Cohen does not say so, as in the West and in Hawaii, the Chinese in the southern states drifted into towns and cities to take up assorted trades or truck gardening. A colony developed in New Orleans, although the Chinese did not live in a confined quarter as was the case in San Francisco or New York City.

The monograph of necessity relies on widely scattered documents, letters, and newspapers to ascertain the story of these people. Thus, most of what Cohen relates about the Chinese comes from the views of others—from those who wanted to use their labor. She has tracked down the descendants of some of these Chinese and then selected those in Natchitoches Parish, Louisiana, to demonstrate what has happened to their ancestors. She concludes that, as Chinese men and local women married, their families adopted local values and lost much of their Chinese identity.

Cohen has pieced together an intricate study of the efforts of southerners to employ Chinese workers during Reconstruction. Her history allows for an interesting comparison with the Chinese in the West who followed similar patterns. The essential difference, and a point she does not develop, was the South's kinder treatment of the Chinese, both socially and politically. Perhaps the reason for this was that smaller numbers came to that region and,

within ten or twenty years, the Chinese had generally disappeared from public view.

H. BRETT MELENDY
San José State University

MICHAEL P. COHEN. *The Pathless Way: John Muir and American Wilderness*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1984. Pp. xvii, 408. \$25.00.

For years it was appropriate to compare the selection of a topic for historical research to the selection of a jury. The idea was to find a subject with which the author had a minimum of emotional attachment. Blacks, it was thought, could not write unbiased black history, and women would inevitably distort the history of their gender. The maxim of the graduate seminar was "Stay aloof; don't wear your heart in your text!"

Michael P. Cohen, a professor of English, has thrown these canons of historical objectivity to the winds, and the result is an interesting, if occasionally startling, book. It is clear after only a few minutes that *The Pathless Way* is as much about Cohen as about John Muir, and Cohen does not disguise that fact. We learn on the first page that Cohen chose his subject because he wanted to understand the roots and implications of his own values. A mountaineer, like Muir, Cohen felt torn by similar tensions between city and wilderness, security and freedom, an established life-style and a rambling, "pathless" one. It is evident that Muir appeals to Cohen and, Cohen generalizes, to "my generation," because of his rebelliousness. Exactly a century ago, Muir anticipated the countercultural malcontents of the 1960s by disassociating himself from family, church, formal education, and established values. He simply walked away into the wilderness. Cohen and at least some of his contemporaries liked the results. Muir's way, he tells us, "was a model of the kind of life worth living." But the parents and teachers of Cohen's generation held contrary opinions. They would have regarded what Muir did, Cohen thinks, as an "evasion of responsibility." *The Pathless Way* is a response to this point of view just as it is a challenge to the dictates of scholarly objectivity.

Just how radically this book departs from ordinary history is apparent in every chapter. Cohen creates imaginary dialogues between Muir and, for instance, Clarence King, even though the two never met. On another occasion Cohen remembers a poetry group he attended in 1969 at the University of California at Berkeley. The subject was Gary Snyder's countercultural nature poetry, and Cohen describes how a professor dismissed Snyder's ideas as superficial. Cohen proceeds to defend Snyder and eventually drifts back to a discussion of Muir's ideas. Later, he interrupts a chapter on the forest

reserves of the 1890s to describe a campfire he enjoyed "two nights ago" in the Sierras. His purpose is to suggest that most scholars of the American environmental movement have forgotten that their "real research library" is in the canyons and mountains. The book concludes with an account of how Cohen and his son spend their summers in a mountain meadow.

A little of this kind of writing goes a long way. Cohen does not always illuminate John Muir's ideas, but he certainly sheds light on what Muir means to him. Still, Cohen is an able, if unorthodox, scholar. His treatment of the way Muir's indebtedness to the businessman and philanthropist Edward H. Harriman caused Muir to pull some punches in his defense of the West is new and informative, and Cohen's textual analysis of Muir's unedited journals is excellent.

The Pathless Way would have been a better book had Cohen availed himself of the most important recent study of Muir's ideas and personality: Stephen Fox's *John Muir and His Legacy* (1981). At first glance this seems inexplicable since Cohen's book was not published until 1984. But we learn from Cohen's epilogue that he completed his manuscript in July 1980. Apparently, he did nothing more to it in four years. Perhaps all those nights around the campfire, rather than in the real library, had some serious liabilities after all.

RODERICK NASH
University of California,
Santa Barbara

CYNTHIA GRANT TUCKER. *A Woman's Ministry: Mary Collson's Search for Reform as a Unitarian Minister, a Hull House Social Worker, and a Christian Science Practitioner*. (American Civilization.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1984. Pp. xviii, 216. \$27.95.

Mary Collson (1870-1953) traveled a crooked road in her quest for a meaningful life and a better world. Growing up in a small town on the Iowa frontier, Collson experienced a poverty both physical and spiritual that set her searching for an alternative existence. At an early age she lost faith in men as women's natural protectors and blamed her emotionally distant father for the financial hardships endured foremost by her compassionate mother. Reaching beyond her kin, Collson turned to the community's dominant cultural institution, the Unitarian fellowship, and found a proper role model among the first women to preach its liberal religion. Two such ministers took the teenager under their wings and began to groom her for a life in the Iowa sisterhood. At their expense Collson attended college and, later, theological school. Although she

never moved far from the supportive female network of her youth or relented in her hostility toward men, Collson faltered in realizing the religious goals set by her mentors. At college she fell under the sway of professors of political economy and sociology and for the remainder of her life walked an intellectual tightrope between theology and social theory. In her professional work she vacillated between two callings: the devotions of a woman religious to save individuals and the campaigns of a Progressive reformer to reshape laws and institutions. In the end each strategy brought its share of disappointment.

Cynthia Grant Tucker describes Collson's struggle as "that of an entire generation of liberal reformers who tried to combat the world's sickness, corruption, and poverty" (pp. xi-xii). The subject of this biography never achieved, of course, the stature of her better-known contemporaries, Jane Addams, Julia Lathrop, or Florence Kelley, and her attempts to find a true course were peculiarly her own. It is to Tucker's credit that the unique twists and turns of Collson's life nevertheless seem paradigmatic, from the recurring bouts of depression and physical collapse that ended periods of frustrated idealism to the seemingly ill-assorted activities that constituted her life's work.

Collson tried first to repay the Unitarian sisterhood by responding to its call for a minister to serve a small Iowan congregation. Fresh from seminary and theologically ambitious, she found it difficult to preach to this conservative community and within two years succumbed to nervous exhaustion. In 1900 Collson tried a radically different tactic and became a court probation officer stationed at Hull House. Responsible for nearly two hundred delinquent children, Collson confronted a new set of frustrations more practical than metaphysical. She turned for guidance to local Socialists, but the more immersed she became in the suffering of her clients, the less faith she could muster in political theory. Once again, Collson collapsed.

This time Collson found a cure for her physical as well as philosophical ailments in Christian Science, but she never settled comfortably into its Boston-dominated milieu. Its hierarchical structure with a preponderance of men at the top meshed poorly with her democratic and feminist sensibilities. Its metaphysics, however, seemed to match her requirement of a worldly application. Collson became a faith healer and built a successful practice that sustained her, if only intermittently, both financially and emotionally.

Tucker renders a close analysis of Collson's thirty-year association with the ministry of Mary Baker Eddy. She explains its special appeal to women, its attraction to displaced reformers, as well as its alienating, dogmatic features. She levels seeming incon-

sistencies in Collson's behavior, such as her acceptance of animal magnetism and her agitation for woman suffrage under the auspices of Socialists, her practice in mind-cure and her simultaneous endorsement of the Soviet Union as the embodiment of the Christian ideal. She depicts Collson's wavering between social reform and personal salvation as tragic but typical.

From mere scraps of evidence remaining from Collson's wanderings, Tucker has created a biography that extends well beyond its subject. Her well-written study offers a sweeping interpretation of American liberalism, of the dilemmas of a special generation of women, and, ultimately, of their chronic disillusionment.

MARI JO BUHLE
Brown University

L. G. MOSES. *The Indian Man: A Biography of James Mooney*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1984. Pp. xvii, 293.

L. G. Moses's book signals renewed interest in the career and scholarly contributions of James Mooney. This "undoctored" dissertation is one of several recent works that restores Mooney's reputation as a significant figure in the early history of American anthropology. Mooney was a self-made man commanding vast knowledge of the American Indian; an imaginative and dedicated, but not indefatigable, fieldworker; a capable linguist by the standards of the day; and an assiduous, resourceful library scholar. His ethnological work on the Eastern Cherokees, Kiowas, and Cheyennes has endured the test of time. He was a pioneer field photographer as well as an innovative museologist. Perhaps best known for his classic monograph on the ghost dance religion, a work that sympathetically documented the events culminating in the tragic Sioux massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890, Mooney also conducted early research on the religious use of peyote, pursued ethnohistoric and salvage works among remnant Indian groups, and remained an active Irish nationalist throughout his life.

This championing of the underdog and interest in recording and preserving traditional cultures frequently brought Mooney into conflict with army officials, Indian agents, missionaries, reformers, and even his own superiors at the Bureau of American Ethnology. A recurrent theme in this book is the problem of advocacy research. What are the aims of ethnologic inquiry? To whom is the investigator responsible? And to what ends will the results of the research be directed? Such issues jeopardized Mooney's career at several junctures and eventually discouraged him.

Unlike most of his contemporaries at the bureau, Mooney developed an intensive style of work that concentrated on a comprehensive understanding of individual tribes rather than on the more global comparative studies of particular features of tribal societies designed to discover cultural evolutionary "laws." Mooney's approach entailed an exhaustive search of available archival materials, the generation of new documentary records, and close collaboration with knowledgeable native informants. Central to this endeavor was an effort to achieve an "insider's" comprehension of the culture through special attention to myths, ceremonies, medical beliefs and practices, and other esoteric domains that encapsulated a people's world view and ethos.

Moses has admirably assembled the sparse facts about Mooney's life to produce a coherent, interesting biography, from which it is possible to ascertain those areas where Mooney was a captive of the biases of his era as well as those in which his outlook was clearly ahead of his time. Mooney's career spanned a period in which anthropology was transformed from a loose collection of gifted, as well as less well endowed, amateurs into a tight coterie of professional scholars whose status was vouchsafed by graduate training. Moses seems more preoccupied than his subject on the issue of professionalism.

Although one might wish for a more penetrating, interpretative analysis of his writings, this book successfully delineates Mooney's life and times. Moses deserves congratulations for providing an excellent touchstone for subsequent research on James Mooney, a scholar of impressive accomplishment.

RAYMOND D. FOGELSON
University of Chicago

PETER D. KLINGMAN. *Neither Dies nor Surrenders: A History of the Republican Party in Florida, 1867-1970*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1984. Pp. xiii, 233. Paper \$12.00.

Peter D. Klingman—the biographer of Josiah Walls, Florida's black congressman during Reconstruction—has now crafted a scholarly, well-written account of Republicanism in Florida from Reconstruction through the election of 1970, and this work is a valuable contribution to the growing body of writing about the Republican party in the South. The author has chosen not to write a political history of Florida but to cast "a narrative of a single political party, one which played a minor role for much of the time between the Civil War and the present" (p. xi).

Because the state constitution of 1868—which stayed in effect longer than similar documents in any other southern state—did not cater to the state's

blacks, Klingman concludes that "Reconstruction Florida under Republicans remained in white hands. The traditional idea that Negroes, carpet-baggers, and scalawags 'ruled' Florida during Reconstruction stands in defiance of the facts" (p. 23). But Florida GOP politics throughout Reconstruction was riddled by rivalries and factional disputes as elected officials and federal appointees sought to manipulate the black vote to their own advantage.

Following sporadic Republican success throughout the 1870s, Florida Democrats gained the upper hand in the rewriting of the state constitution in 1885. The new document's restrictions on black political participation aligned Florida with the rest of the solidly Democratic South: "By 1889, Republican chances for success in Florida were virtually nil" (p. 98). Until the 1960s Florida was a political wasteland for the GOP. The party itself was dominated by infighting, which prevented Florida Republicans from resolving their differences long enough to reach accommodation with the Populists, a strategy that had proved successful in North Carolina and other parts of the South.

Despite a careful scholarship and reliance on manuscript and printed sources, Klingman surprisingly tells us that "McKinley carried Florida handily for the national GOP" (p. 111), when in reality he lost every southern state. And H. L. Anderson, Progressive national committeeman for Florida, stayed with the Bull Moose party through the 1916 elections, four years longer than Klingman suggests. Klingman correctly observes that, when the GOP failed to gain 5 percent of the tally in 1918, the Florida supreme court ruled it out of existence: "The law does not know such a political party as the Republican party" (p. 118). The Republicans had not sufficiently rebounded by 1928 to elect a single candidate to statewide office, although Herbert Hoover won the state over his Roman Catholic challenger, Al Smith.

Republican fortunes continued to suffer during the New Deal and World War II, and, although Eisenhower carried Florida twice and Nixon won in 1960, Goldwater went down to defeat when his outspokenness about social security got him into trouble with the state's large retirement community. Yet a massive Republican rebuilding effort after the disaster of 1964 resulted in the elections of Claude Kirk as governor in 1966 and Edward Gurney as U.S. senator in 1968. Florida GOP leaders built a new party by capitalizing on the influx of northern business and professional people who found an attractive haven following World War II. "The seedbed of modern Florida Republican support lay here," Klingman relates, because the newcomers "tended to be economically and socially conserva-

tive, but unsympathetic to the passions of Reconstruction" (p. 157).

PAUL D. CASDORPH
West Virginia State College

BARTON C. SHAW. *The Wool-Hat Boys: Georgia's Populist Party*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1984. Pp. 237. \$22.50.

Even though historians have recently devoted considerable attention to late nineteenth-century Populists, no specific work on Populists in Georgia has appeared in over forty-five years. Besides being dated, Alex Mathews Arnett's *The Populist Movement in Georgia* (1922) is brief and limited in depth and analysis, William W. Brewton's *Life of Thomas E. Watson* (1926) is too laudatory to be of great value, and C. Vann Woodward's *Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel* (1938) neglects aspects of Populism in Georgia not directly associated with Watson. Clearly, there has been a need for a new work based on new materials, and Barton C. Shaw's revised dissertation fills that need quite adequately.

Basing his meticulous research on a great variety of materials now available on Georgia's Populism, Shaw has produced a book rich in detail. He devotes attention to the elections of 1892, 1894, and 1896, and striding across his pages are Leonidas Livingston, Mel Branch, James Barrett, John D. Cunningham, Clarence Ellington, James K. Hines, William Northen, and William Peek, as well as the ever-present Watson.

But Shaw is not content merely to offer a descriptive narrative of Georgia's Populism; he is concerned as well with its origins and implications for politics in that state. Because Populism was most successful in Georgia's northeastern cotton belt—the tenth congressional district—Shaw focuses his analysis there. Neither poverty nor physical isolation was, he writes, the paramount reason for the rise of Populism in Georgia, nor did the Farmers' Alliance play a major role as a forerunner of the movement. He concludes that the rise of Populism in Georgia was related more to historical factors than has heretofore been realized. It seems to this reviewer that interpreters of Populism have tried too hard to find the origins of the movement. Simply stated, Populists were the "outs" who wanted to replace the "ins." Shaw never says this, but what he writes about the Populist campaigns and tenure in office supports this simple but basic contention. Indeed, throughout their brief existence Georgia's Populists were hardly more than pale reflections of Georgia's Democrats.

Although some wool-hat boys held Catholics, Jews, and foreigners in contempt, Shaw's research indicates that the Populists in Georgia were reason-

ably tolerant and not primarily concerned with such matters. Their attitudes toward blacks, however, constituted an exception. Indeed, Shaw devotes much of his attention to the subject of race: both the Populists and the Democrats wanted to control and use blacks, but these attempts were ultimately unsuccessful. This interpretation is not new, and it applies to southern states other than just Georgia. But Shaw has mingled facts and perceptive observations so well that many of his passages may well be applicable to the entire region.

MONROE BILLINGTON
New Mexico State University

BENJAMIN MCARTHUR. *Actors and American Culture, 1880-1920*. (American Civilization.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1984. Pp. xiv, 289. \$29.95.

This is an admirable book for several reasons. Chief among them is Benjamin McArthur's fidelity to his purpose: to trace and document the actor's changing position in American culture during the forty years from 1880 to 1920. McArthur must have been constantly tempted to write yet another general history of the American theater, but he kept his eye steadily and faithfully on the actor's cultural relationships to the society around him.

Fidelity to this purpose demanded an impressive amount of research, which is another admirable feature of the book. Developments in the theater are linked to changes in manners, morals, social standards, politics, and economics—in short, to the complexities of an era when "Victorianism was dissolved by the solvent of urban culture" (p. 236) and modern American society emerged. In fulfilling his purpose, McArthur cites much unusual information not found in standard histories of the theater. To illuminate the actor's cultural position, the author discusses background information such as what business or trade was practiced by the parents of successful players and what level of education was reached by these players.

The theme that unifies the book is the long struggle of the actor for acceptance and respectability. No facts in American theatrical history are better known than the Puritan prejudice against plays and players and the stratagems used by professional companies in colonial America just to gain permission to perform. By 1880, of course, much of the battle against prejudice had been won, but the actor was still snubbed and rejected socially. His position in society was both ambiguous and contradictory, but he slowly changed the image he had of himself and, also, the image the public had of actors. We are given ample evidence of how this came about. For example, because the elite men's clubs of New York excluded actors, Edwin Booth founded an actors'

club, *The Players*, "in a conscious attempt to break down the boundaries between actors and society" (p. 76). Such developments were possible in a society that was emerging from the repression of traditional standards to embrace individual freedom. On the stage, the actor as a hero larger than life was replaced by the realistic hero of the Ibsen-type drama. Something was lost in this shift to realism, but the actor gained human dimensions that related him more closely to the society around him. As the general cultural pattern changed, the influence of the actor increased and his cultural position altered. The author's carefully presented evidence prepares us to accept his general conclusion: "The legitimization of the players' work and life testified to the death of an older, unitary culture and to the shape of a new pluralistic one. . . . Actors as celebrities, as paragons of freedom, as models of lifestyle—epitomized the shift from an ethic of strict moral demands to one of permissive self-fulfillment" (p. 236).

GARFF B. WILSON
University of California,
Berkeley

ERROL HILL. *Shakespeare in Sable: A History of Black Shakespearean Actors*. Foreword by JOHN HOUSEMAN. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1984. Pp. xxviii, 216. \$20.00.

This is the kind of earnest, well-meaning work that any reviewer of decent moral character would love to laud. What gets in the way of such noble intentions, however, is the subject matter itself or, to be more precise, the paucity of material. The truth is that Errol Hill has unearthed enough information for an article or even a series of articles in a learned journal, but not enough to justify the more than two hundred forty pages he lavishes on the topic.

As a result, we read, for example, about "the two most celebrated black professionals of this period [ca. 1900]," who "possessed widely different talents but had one thing in common: neither ever appeared in a fully professional production of one of Shakespeare's plays" (p. 86). This amazing sentence is followed, predictably, by two pages devoted to one of the pair, the gifted comedian Bert Williams.

Or consider the mercifully brief theatrical career of one Hurlie Bavardo, whose 1885 *Romeo* a reviewer found "heavy and unnatural," whose 1887 *Othello* was "a complete disaster" ("he forgot his lines," Hill explains), and who, in 1890 at his last known appearance, "embarrassed himself . . . because he appeared out of costume and his pieces were not committed to memory" (pp. 56–57). Hill charitably attributes these failings to a lack of "rigorous discipline and finely tuned skills," combined

with "the most dreaded of all histrionic afflictions—a faulty memory" (p. 55). Is it a faulty memory when an actor shows up for a performance *sans* costume? My own guess inclines more in the direction of alcoholism (which might also explain a "heavy and unnatural" *Romeo*). In any event, aside from filling space, there is no apparent reason that I can discern to expend two pages—in addition, of course, to the obligatory photograph—on such an utterly marginal figure.

To be fair, the problem Hill faced in writing this book was not at all of his own creation. The dearth of material on black Shakespeareans reflects a corresponding dearth of such Shakespeareans. As Hill rightly observes, for most of their history white Americans have been "unwilling to accept blacks in dramatic portrayals" (p. 77), and the black community has in general had neither the money nor the acquired taste for the Bard to support Shakespearean repertory companies. Although there has been no shortage of black talent on the stage, the opportunities to enjoy success—or even to survive—as a black Shakespearean have been few and far between.

Hill's narration of the triumphs and setbacks of his subjects is a creditable one. His emphasis is naturally on the most famous performers—Ira Aldridge in the nineteenth century; Canada Lee, Paul Robeson, Earle Hyman, Robert Hooks, and James Earl Jones in the twentieth—but he also provides considerable new information on such lesser-known yet important figures as J. A. Arneaux (organizer of a Shakespearean troupe in the 1880s), Charles Winter Wood (director of the Tuskegee Players for almost forty years), Henrietta Vinton Davis (denied work as an actress, she achieved renown at the turn of the century as a reader and elocutionist), and Owen Dodson (an academic Shakespearean who spent the last two decades of his career at Howard University). Overall, this is a useful book with marvelous illustrations, but it is, alas, marred by too many pointless digressions and lengthy citations from reviews of dubious relevance. The author has weakened his work by incorporating material better left in his research notes.

FRANK KOFSKY
California State University,
Sacramento

ROBERT C. BROWARD. *The Architecture of Henry John Klutho: The Prairie School in Jacksonville*. Jacksonville: University of North Florida Press. 1984. Pp. xviii, 361. \$45.00.

Henry John Klutho arrived in Jacksonville, Florida, in June 1901, one month after much of the city had been destroyed by fire. The young apprentice-

trained architect abandoned his newly established New York office for the greater opportunities available in rebuilding the stricken city. Success came immediately, with commissions for a new Jacksonville city hall, a six-story office building, and other smaller projects. These buildings, and the several churches, the Carnegie library, and additional office buildings completed in the following years, showed a competent designer with eclectic tastes centering on Beaux-Arts conventionality.

Robert C. Broward believes that the turning point in Klutho's architectural development came on his honeymoon trip to Niagara Falls in the summer of 1904. At this time Frank Lloyd Wright had two major projects under construction in the nearby city of Buffalo. Klutho visited these buildings and probably met Wright at this time. Later, the Kluthos visited Wright in Oak Park, and Elizabeth Klutho recalled being bored by the visit since "all [Wright] would talk about was his architecture" (p. 52). On this trip Klutho saw many of the houses Wright designed in the Chicago area and the newly completed Unity Church. The author believes these Prairie school buildings, and Louis Sullivan's skyscrapers decorated with terra cotta, greatly influenced Klutho's own style.

Nonetheless, Klutho continued to use a Beaux-Arts vocabulary in his work. In 1905 he won the commission to design Florida's first governor's mansion. This two-story house with Ionic columns carried out Klutho's concept of the Southern Colonial style. As in the case of the governor's mansion, other classically detailed work probably resulted from the conservative tastes of Klutho's clients. In fact, when the architect did abandon the Beaux-Arts approach for a "straight forward expression of . . . the structural system" (p. 70), as in his 1907 design for the Jacksonville YMCA, cost factors probably played a greater role than design considerations.

Only in 1908 with the design of his own house did Klutho fully embrace the Prairie school style. But even here he used only a Prairie school facade, and the boxy and closed rooms shown in the floor plan bear little resemblance to the open and flowing spaces of Wright's interiors. Other Prairie school works, such as the Morocco Temple of 1910 (which owed much in its massing and detailing to Unity Church) and the St. James Building, a combination department store and office building that the author calls Klutho's masterpiece, seem the product of an assumed style and not the result of a coherent stylistic development. That Klutho could propose four dissimilar facade treatments for the St. James Building shows a versatile architect rather than a dedicated convert to the Prairie school.

Broward, a practicing architect who apprenticed with Wright at Taliesin, brings to the work his enthusiasm for Klutho and his architecture. Al-

though the extremely small photographs and floor plans are a great disappointment, this is a much-needed addition to the history of Florida architecture.

DONALD W. CURL
Florida Atlantic University

MAXINE L. MARGOLIS. *Mothers and Such: Views of American Women and Why They Changed*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1984. Pp. x, 346. \$19.95.

Anthropologist Maxine L. Margolis is a thoroughgoing cultural materialist, and from this fact flow the greatest strengths and the greatest weaknesses of her book. The problem she has set herself—the examination of the relationships between cultural prescriptions about motherhood and the social conditions in which American mothers happened to have lived—lies in that semivirgin territory where history and anthropology could potentially meet. Unfortunately, her explanatory strategy, which assumes "that explanations . . . lie in the material conditions of human life: how people make a living, how they relate to their environments, and how they reproduce themselves" (p. 3), may be adequate to answer anthropological questions concerning atemporal crosscultural differences and similarities but proves to be inadequate when used to answer questions about cause-and-effect relationships over time, the kinds of questions with which history is concerned.

This book does provide us, however, with exceedingly clear summaries of most of the recent research that is concerned either with the prescriptive literature or with the social and economic conditions that have affected American women's behavior from the colonial period to the present. To this reviewer's knowledge, no single volume yet published contains quite so sweeping an amalgam of *both* types of historical investigation over so long a period of time, ranging from the injunctions of Puritan preachers to the paperbacks of Marabel Morgan and from the activities of seventeenth-century housewives to the employment of twentieth-century secretaries.

The book is roughly divided into four sections of unequal length. The first examines the prescriptions about, and the material conditions of, motherhood; the second describes housewifery; the third discusses ideas and statistics about married women's employment; and the fourth applies the concept of "blaming the victim" to some of the current prescriptive literature about women. The last of these sections is in some ways the most provocative (since it deals with ideas that some of us currently hold) but is in other ways the weakest (since the treatment is profoundly one-sided). In any event it introduces a

form of analysis quite different from the one that dominates the rest of the book.

And it is this form of analysis that is, from the point of view of a historian, the greatest weakness of *Mothers and Such*. Margolis is at pains to tell us that she does not believe in a "simplistic, mechanistic correspondence between material conditions and structural and ideological phenomena" (p. 3); unfortunately, the only complexity she is willing to introduce is William F. Ogburn's infamous idea of a time-lag. Radical prescriptive literature does nothing more, in Margolis's view, than reflect (often belatedly) the tension between real life and conservative prescription, and conservative prescription does nothing more than rationalize the material status quo. This is a cultural materialism shorn even of the subtleties of Marxist dialectic; the causal system in which material conditions change is completely linear and completely unaffected (except for an occasional deceleration) by the writings either of a Catharine Beecher or a Charlotte Perkins Gilman, a Betty Friedan or a Shulamith Firestone. Most historians, even those who, like this reviewer, are grateful for Margolis's effort to consider material and ideological conditions together, will regard such a model of historical change as too mechanistic and simplistic by half.

RUTH SCHWARTZ COWAN
State University of New York,
Stony Brook

VIRGINIA G. DRACHMAN. *Hospital with a Heart: Women Doctors and the Paradox of Separatism at the New England Hospital, 1862-1969*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1984. Pp. 258. \$19.95.

Virginia G. Drachman uses the history of the New England Hospital for Women and Children to illustrate the dynamics of the women's medical movement from 1860 to 1920. Founded in 1862 by the German-born physician Marie Zakrzewska, the hospital provided professional opportunities for women physicians while offering medical care and moral uplift for "deserving" poor women. Effectively barred from the male-dominated medical world, women physicians found a unique blend of professional opportunity and personal support in such all-women's institutions, which reflected the emphasis on "separate spheres" for the sexes characteristic of nineteenth-century society. At the same time, the New England Hospital emulated the best voluntary hospitals of its day by providing women interns with a thorough clinical education in "regular" (as opposed to sectarian) medicine, thus assuring itself a solid institutional reputation. But, as women began to be accepted into formerly all-male medical schools, hospitals, and medical societies in

the 1870s and 1880s, the institution began to lose its *raison d'être*. Simultaneously, the transformation of the American hospital into a scientific rather than a charitable enterprise undercut the hospital's medical reputation: with its meager funds, the New England Hospital found it difficult to provide the same clinical advantages that its more affluent counterparts could provide.

Drachman's narrative centers on the conflict between the different generations of women doctors who served at the New England from 1880 to 1920. In response to the new possibilities for women physicians, Zakrzewska and the older women physicians articulated the separatist philosophy only more strongly, hoping to preserve the hospital's unique mission. But, imbued with the spirit of the new scientific medicine, the younger doctors chafed at the limitations of an all-women's institution. Beginning in the mid-1870s and culminating in the 1910s, a series of bitter conflicts pitted the separatists against the intergrationists. Ultimately, the hospital gained such a reputation for discord and backwardness that it had difficulty recruiting and keeping interns.

Drachman's narrative provides a useful case study of the rise and decline of the separate spheres argument in women's medical institutions. The book also has some of the limitations inherent in a study of one institution. Readers not familiar with the work of Mary Roth Walsh or Regina Morantz may not be aware of the ways in which the New England Hospital's history illustrates the larger history of the women's medical movement. Similarly, without knowing more about the internal history of general hospitals during this turbulent period of American medical history, particularly the extent of generational conflict between male physicians, it is difficult to assess how unusual the conflict at the New England Hospital actually was. Still, *Hospital with a Heart* tells a fascinating story and is a welcome addition to both medical and women's history.

NANCY TOMES
State University of New York,
Stony Brook

MARGARETE SANDELOWSKI. *Pain, Pleasure, and American Childbirth: From the Twilight Sleep to the Read Method, 1914-1960*. (Contributions in Medical History, number 13.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1984. Pp. xix, 152. \$27.95.

Since Richard and Dorothy Wertz published *Lying-In* (1978), the history of childbirth has attracted a number of able scholars. Margarete Sandelowski, a professor of nursing, understands the work of medical and social historians, but she is a master of primary sources as well. *Pain, Pleasure, and American*

Childbirth is the best account available of American childbirth in the twentieth century. Sandelowski can be recommended not only for her knowledge of medical innovations and technical issues but also for her attention to professional and sexual politics and social context. In this book women, as nurses and expectant mothers, become active participants rather than passive victims or beneficiaries of medical men. Sandelowski makes clear that obstetrical practice was shaped by the expectations of both clients and professionals, by the wish to enhance the experience of childbirth as a desirable end in itself, and by the reality of suffering and death.

Sandelowski argues that before 1914 the public equated the risks of childbirth with pain. The most important event in the history of American childbirth was the Faustian bargain in which "physicians, eager to obtain the right to attend women in childbirth, promised them relief from pain; and women, eager to be relieved of pain, turned to physicians to fulfill that promise" (p. xi).

The privileged women who organized the campaign for "twilight sleep," or drug-induced amnesia, in 1914–15 forced physicians to reevaluate the role of pain in childbirth, and this had far-reaching consequences. Routine obstetrical anesthesia ruled out midwives, accelerated the transfer of delivery from home to hospital, encouraged and often necessitated surgical intervention or "prophylactic obstetrics," and affirmed the view of women as biologically vulnerable and dependent for emancipation on submission to the authority of the scientific obstetrician. Despite its costs, relief from pain remained a primary goal of women in labor and their attendants. The discovery in the mid-1940s that obstetric anesthesia was a leading cause of preventable maternal deaths led to better training for anesthesiologists rather than abandonment of drugged childbirth.

Dramatic declines in maternal mortality after 1935 and the successful control of pain set the stage for the post-World War II campaign for natural childbirth and the enhancement of the emotional rewards of birth. Sandelowski makes clear that the movement to "naturalize" childbirth owed more to the feminine mystique than to feminism. But, in this case also, the impetus for changing maternity care apparently came from childbearing women themselves. The desire to preserve and strengthen traditional family values led to demands that women be more active participants in the birth process, but not to assaults on male authority per se. Sandelowski's brief epilogue, "From Pleasure to Control," contrasts visions of childbirth that emphasize pleasure with those that are most concerned with who will be in control.

Pain, Pleasure, and American Childbirth tells us little about possible contrasts between the birth experi-

ence of women in different places and social groups. As an interpretation based on such sources as medical and nursing literature and the records of the Maternity Center Association in New York, this is an excellent monograph that commands the attention of social and medical historians.

JAMES REED
Rutgers University

DONALD J. PISANI. *From the Family Farm to Agribusiness: The Irrigation Crusade in California and the West, 1850–1931*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1984. Pp. xiii, 521. \$29.95.

In November 1978 Lawrence B. Lee published his landmark article "100 Years of Reclamation Historiography" in the *Pacific Historical Review*. It appeared in book form two years later, but without being updated. We can therefore use Lee's study as a bench mark by which to measure the growth of water resource historiography in the past half-dozen years. The news is good. The field has been enriched by publication of the *California Water Atlas* and by important monographs by Michael C. Meyer, Robert G. Dunbar, William L. Kahrl, Douglas Strong, and William L. Preston, among others. Distinguished for the depth of research as measured by extensive documentation and comprehensive bibliographies, these studies add much to our knowledge of such topics as Hispanic water rights in the Southwest, Lake Tahoe's environmental problems, and the development of water law in the West.

Donald J. Pisani's book, the latest addition to this list, is an outstanding work of scholarship that succeeds in untangling a complex topic and provides insight and detail on an issue best known only in general outline. Teachers of California history know that they must discuss the famous *Lux v. Haggin* water dispute, define for their students the distinction between riparian and appropriative water doctrines, and explain the role of the state and federal governments in developing laws on irrigation and reclamation. What Donald Pisani has done is to trace carefully the evolution of irrigation in California by examining the philosophical and economic understanding of California's water resources across an eighty-year time span, from statehood to the beginnings of the Central Valley Project.

By placing this evolution in context, Pisani succeeds in capturing conventional wisdom and the obstacles involved in bringing new ideas and concepts to bear on a complex issue. For example, he notes that many farmers opposed irrigation because they believed that irrigated crops were deficient in nutrients or that irrigation might spread diseases such as malaria. Other farmers armed with equal

misinformation claimed irrigation supplied nutrients through the water itself. Pisani also reveals the ambitious schemes of land speculators, ranchers, and an assortment of entrepreneurs whose plans were as grandiose in failure as in intention. Nineteenth-century Californians were remarkably litigious as to water rights, and state efforts to define irrigation districts and codify water laws usually ended as unsuccessful compromises or as failures in application. The long-held hope that irrigation might promote family farms, encourage economic development, and break up the domination of powerful landholders was not realized. Pisani shows that by the early twentieth century agribusiness had adopted irrigation for its own use, even as competing interests—from public versus private power to northern versus southern sections to rural versus urban areas—failed to come to terms with the need for a long-range, comprehensive water plan.

Drawing on archival and manuscript collections as well as on government documents, oral histories, and secondary studies, Pisani provides a wealth of information that scholars will find useful in pursuing this important topic. Pisani does not forget the human element: he rescues Robert B. Marshall, whose plans anticipated the Central Valley Project, from obscurity, and his biographical sketches of Henry Miller, James Ben-Ali Haggin, and William Hammond Hall make this a human history as well as a case study of complex issues. Now that Pisani has done a near-definitive treatment of the topic, further research must examine the effect of the irrigation crusade on the people who bought the land, tried to succeed on it, and thrived or failed.

ABRAHAM HOFFMAN
Benjamin Franklin High School
Los Angeles, California

CHARLES T. DUMARS *et al.* *Pueblo Indian Water Rights: Struggle for a Precious Resource*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1984. Pp. vi, 183. \$22.50.

Most historians know little about native American rights and liberties. They are aware of the losses of land that tribes have sustained because numerous volumes have been devoted to it, but far less has been written about the lands that those tribes retained. Smaller still is the amount of material available on native American water rights. The arrival of any worthy book on the subject is welcome.

The work under consideration is by three attorneys, each of whom has had firsthand experience working with Pueblo Indian water rights. The book is organized more as a casebook than as a traditional history. This is an advantage to those seeking a quick reference or quotation, but the book does not delve into areas as deeply as historians desire. Al-

though the reader may become aggravated with the bare outline of major topics, the format allows the authors to present a great number of subjects in a short volume.

The book will be used for a long time because it appears during a period of escalating litigation over Indian water rights. Furthermore, increasing demands for water occasioned by the population explosion in the western and southwestern states will undoubtedly force native water owners into additional struggles.

The authors needed an editor with the ability to reorganize the work. Chapter 1 is not really a chapter but a 5-page introduction. Chapter 2 is 3 pages in length and easily could have been part of the introduction. Only chapter 3 has enough substance to be called a chapter. The entire text is short and tersely written, amounting to a thin 118 pages. At the end are a remarkable nine appendixes, as well as end notes. The organization is the one great drawback of this book. But do not let these criticisms keep you from it. The authors have collected and published the essential documents and arguments about the water rights of the Pueblos.

This is also a work that could spawn many other books. The key subjects are laid out, and the locations of some important sources are clearly identified. Without doubt, others will follow these guideposts, which is as it should be. Many studies are urgently needed on such subjects as the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District and the issues surrounding Pueblo Indian water in the United States courts. A more careful study of water rights in the 1920s following the passage of the Pueblo Lands Act would be helpful. In fact, the list of areas for future study could be very long, especially if it extended to other tribes whose water rights have not been studied adequately.

This work will partly fill a void that has existed for too long in American Indian historiography.

FLOYD A. O'NEIL
University of Utah

ROBERT MAX JACKSON. *The Formation of Craft Labor Markets*. (Studies in Social Discontinuity.) Orlando, Fla.: Academic. 1984. Pp. xv, 353. \$45.00.

For the past ten years much of the research and writing in the field of labor history has examined the related subjects of the "labor process" and the origins and structure of labor markets. Most of that scholarship has been the work of economists and sociologists. In this book sociologist Robert Max Jackson attempts to integrate theoretical contributions with a close empirical study of the historical development of "craft labor markets." Jackson chose as his subject two of the most typical and traditional

crafts—carpentry and printing—during the century 1820–1920. These crafts spawned two of the most successful and stable trade unions in American history that acted as key institutions in fashioning a stable market for labor. Using the published work of other scholars and the printed proceedings and journals of the unions and employers' associations, Jackson tells the story of how workers and bosses in the building and printing trades evolved a union-management accommodation that served the interests of both parties.

Jackson's findings should surprise few historians, for he builds on the earlier work of John R. Commons, Selig Perlman, and Lloyd Ulman, among others. But his conclusions will dismay some scholars since he casts doubt on many of the more popular recent interpretations of American labor history. Jackson is a structuralist, pursuing a base-superstructure approach to the past. The growth of the economy and competition among firms in an expanding national market form the base on which the superstructure of craft unions and employers' associations rises. The history of unionism among carpenters and printers, as told by Jackson, is reminiscent of Commons's famous essay on American shoemakers and recapitulates Ulman's story of the rise of the national union. And, most emphatically, Jackson echoes Perlman's belief that "job control" was the primary motivation and goal of the worker. Along the way, Jackson disputes the claims of the new labor historians, the workers' control advocates, and the labor market segmentation theorists. The scarce skills of carpenters and printers, not their cultural traditions or ethnic homogeneity, determined their success in building unions. Monopoly over access to the job, not control of the labor process, motivated craftspeople. Employers sought power over their employees not to dilute workers' autonomy on the job but simply to survive in an extremely competitive market. Finally, a highly structured labor market developed in carpentry and printing not because it enabled employers to segment, Balkanize, and weaken their workers but because it actually served the material interests of workers and employers. Whether he realizes it or not, Jackson has breathed new life into the classical labor history tradition of Commons and Perlman. He has also done a fine job in tracing the employers' response to unionism, and here historians may learn much that is new. A statement by the president of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association in 1907 about union-management relations captures the essence of Jackson's interpretation: "We had interests in common and we dealt on the basis that we were not members of hostile classes" (p. 305).

It is a shame, however, that the author's style leaves much to be desired. Jackson fashions sentences that set my teeth to chattering. What can one

possibly make of this: "The theory of interests that propelled such activity emerged and became stable because organization processes limited the capacity of the objective structural circumstances to select ideological stances according to their pragmatic value to the membership" (p. 208)? But the publisher deserves our gratitude for placing the notes where they belong—at the bottom of the page.

MELVYN DUBOFSKY

State University of New York,
Binghamton

THOMAS R. WINPENNY. *Industrial Progress and Human Welfare: The Rise of the Factory System in Nineteenth-Century Lancaster*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 1984. Pp. x, 132. Cloth \$21.50, paper \$8.50.

Thomas R. Winpenny's study of industrialization in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, contributes to the literature on satellite cities and towns in American industrial history. It reflects an awareness of the historical value of population and manufacturing census manuscripts that have invigorated work on Newburyport, Springfield, and Lowell, Massachusetts (Stephan Thernstrom, Michael Frisch, and Thomas Dublin). In this slim volume, Winpenny undertakes to explain the placidity of capital-labor relations during Lancaster's emergence as a regional manufacturing center from 1840 to 1880. He also documents the opportunities that opened as the old commercial and handicraft center tripled its population over those four decades. In addition to census materials, Winpenny draws heavily on local histories and surviving records of the cotton textile firm that became the city's largest employer in the 1850s.

This book sets out three goals in its preface: to develop a "portrait of the early factory system," to account for "stability in the face of change," and to contribute to the continuing debate on the costs versus the benefits of industrialization. The results, however, are not terribly satisfying. Awkwardly written and poorly edited, the text proves to be more a collage than a portrait. The author fails to grapple conceptually with the critical notion "stability," making no attempt either to define the term contextually or to offer any means by which it might be assessed in Lancaster for contrast with other sites. This oversight and other missteps turn what might have been an incisive analysis into a deeply flawed celebration of local enterprise.

To establish that Lancaster's route to industrial success was calm and harmonious, a reference point for comparison and contrast is essential. Although both Lowell and Philadelphia are mentioned, no rigorous attempt is made to indicate a significantly lower incidence of labor-management conflict in the

"Red Rose" city. If there indeed was "a dearth of union activity and labor unrest" between 1836 and 1869, how did it happen that in the 1880s "city directories bulged with union listings" (p. 100)? During the quiet decades, Lancaster workers established and maintained two Mechanics Institutes and durable chapters of the Order of United American Mechanics, which may have laid groundwork for the Knights of Labor. Such possibilities are not explored, as perhaps they gesture toward more ambivalent relations between masters and men than the harmony Winpenny perceives. Does stability refer to long residence of a local work force? If so, city directories could have been used to some effect. Does it mean persistence of local firms, low levels of failure, or bankruptcy? Both business directories and manufacturing census schedules could be probed for answers. We are told of government contracts that sustained several weapons and boiler-making firms (pp. 47-76). But the author fails to verify such claims, made in a regional biographical album published half a century after the fact. Consulting the federal contract registers preserved in the National Archives would have been useful.

Finally, the book lacks the touch of a competent editor, one who would not have allowed gaffes like "prior to his demise and flight from town" in an account of bank fraud by a local promoter (p. 42). Sadly, Winpenny has produced not a solid monograph but a filiopietistic tract that concludes that support for industrial development was "the public duty of every red-blooded Lancastrian" (p. 123). Scholars of nineteenth-century America will not find much of value here.

PHILIP SCRANTON
Rutgers University

FRANCIS G. COUVARES. *The Remaking of Pittsburgh: Class and Culture in an Industrializing City, 1877-1919*. (SUNY Series in American Social History.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1984. Pp. viii, 187.

In this little book of 131 pages of text, Francis G. Couvares sketches a history of working-class experience and culture in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Pittsburgh, developing along the way an interesting and rather novel argument about the character and consequences of industrial, urban, political, and leisure-related institutional developments during that era. As late as 1890, Couvares argues, Pittsburgh was the seat of a "craftsmen's empire," a city whose workplaces, streets, and institutions of leisure were dominated not by an industrial or commercial elite but by highly skilled, well-paid, and relatively autonomous iron puddlers, heaters, rollers, and glass blowers. On the job these

industrial workers enjoyed many of the prerogatives ordinarily associated with preindustrial master craftsmen: setting their own work pace, controlling and even rewarding the labor of their assistants, and successfully influencing (if not quite proclaiming) their own rates of pay. Off the job they enjoyed the many diversions of a forthrightly plebeian city: a "decent carnival" of band concerts, variety shows, horse races, amateur baseball games, fire company picnics, popular art shows, and a variety of other activities, including the simple socializing of the saloon, the fire house, the newsstand, and the tobacco shop. Given the "dour provinciality" of the Scottish Presbyterian ironmasters, who resolutely resisted displays of wealth and the frivolities of *haut bourgeois* social life, "the rich and varied repertoire of plebeian leisure and ritual set the tone for the Iron City" (p. 31). It was a place of brawny, hard-working, fun-loving men, well satisfied with themselves and their city. What a pity Walt Whitman could not have spent his last years in Pittsburgh rather than in Camden.

Had he died in Pittsburgh in 1891, Walt would not have seen the rapid economic, political, and social changes that, within one generation, destroyed the plebeian Iron City, reducing most of its workers to semiskilled and badly overworked operatives, eliminating its unions, fragmenting its citizens into hostile classes and ethnic subcommunities, corrupting its politics, and transforming its "decent carnival" of plebeian leisure activity into a professionalized and professionally purveyed mass culture. The principal culprit was steel, or, more accurately, the rapid transformation of iron mills into steel mills during the 1890s. Increasingly aggressive industrialists seized on the new technologies of integrated steel production to reduce skills and wages, increase hours, and take control of the workplace. "The lines of command in the new mill," writes Couvares, "were clear and hierarchical. . . . In the age of steel, craftsmen no longer directed the work team or trained newcomers in the skills required for production. Instead, clerks, engineers, and technicians devised and transmitted work instructions to machine-tenders who lacked the customary expertise of the craftsman" (pp. 87-88). The new machine-tenders lacked as well the ability and means to maintain either their unions or their control of the social, political, and cultural life of the expanding metropolis. The "craftsmen's empire" gave way to a city dominated by newly founded upper-class cultural institutions, professional politicians, commercialized institutions for public entertainment (including major league baseball), and various paternalistic devices through which the upper class hoped to control the leisure time of the working class.

Couvares presents this version of industrial and social transformation well but, I believe, too hastily.

His arguments concerning the power and decline of plebeian culture, and the rather late development of bourgeois culture among the business class, are novel and significant enough to deserve a more thorough discussion. His treatment of work and workers' control in iron and steel making does not go beyond the excellent but brief analyses of David Brody and David Montgomery. And, finally, the reader is left to wonder about the relationship between the "plebeian culture" of skilled iron and glass workers and that of the larger numbers of working men and women who were either less skilled than they or who worked in other, less loosely organized industries. By Couvares's own reckoning these constituted a clear majority of Pittsburgh's industrial work force. Were they equal participants in the brawny culture of the Iron City? Did they share in the skilled iron and glass workers' loss when that culture was destroyed? Would we have gained a different view of the history of Pittsburgh's plebeian life and culture if these workers had been given a larger role in Couvares's story? Surely, a book so brief could have been expanded to deal with all of these matters in greater detail.

STUART BLUMIN
Cornell University

PAUL AVRICH. *The Haymarket Tragedy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1984. Pp. xv, 535. \$29.50.

On May 4, 1886, a bomb exploded during a workers' protest meeting at Haymarket Square in Chicago, injuring scores of police and citizens, some fatally. The city's newspapers, its leading citizens, and its business community almost unanimously charged that the deed was the responsibility of Chicago's anarchist community. The police dragnet that began within hours focused more on a person's politics than on his whereabouts that evening. While the police still sought the first shreds of evidence, a quasi-official jury returned its verdict in the first editions of the morning's newspapers: Chicago's militant anarchist movement was guilty of promoting an alien ideology destructive to American democratic ideals. Within days this mood of hysteria infected other major cities across the nation, and businessmen, politicians, and police officials used the headlines to attack anarchists, Socialists, and labor organizers. The bombing in Haymarket Square instigated America's first serious "Red Scare."

Paul Avrich's study of these events is a magnificent example of historical writing. Avrich's scholarly credentials need no recounting here, and the reader will find in this book the high standard of scholarship and rigorous thought usually associated with his work. In addition, one will find an imaginatively

constructed work that, like all good literature, entices the reader into the very heart of the story. A superb piece of social history, the book examines in great detail the broad political and cultural context of the Haymarket event. Avrich carefully places Chicago's anarchist movement within the history of that city's labor movement, and he distinguishes that "Chicago idea" from other anarchist trends of the time. In addition, Avrich creates a surprisingly detailed portrait of businessmen's attitudes toward labor in the two decades preceding the bombing that goes far to explain their reaction to that event. The book is also something of a detective story. Avrich explains in his preface that he has new evidence "of a reliable and, I believe, convincing nature" as to who actually threw the bomb. In a fashion most welcome in an academic study, the author develops his evidence with literary skill and a scholarly thoroughness until, in the penultimate chapter, he draws from it a viable conclusion. Along the way, moreover, Avrich clarifies a number of other century-old doubts concerning Haymarket, the most important of which concern the responsibility of the police, whose volatile and undisciplined reaction to the explosion accounted for the majority of deaths and injuries at Haymarket.

But most valuable is the fashion in which Avrich interweaves social history and scholarly detection with the biographical technique central to his storytelling. Vignettes of such important figures as Lucy Parsons, William Holmes, and Governor Richard Oglesby appear throughout the book, but Avrich's biographical approach centers on Albert Parsons and August Spies, two of the eight accused anarchists. Avrich's re-creation of their personal histories (Parsons was an Alabama-born, Confederate Army veteran and Spies a German immigrant) and his careful examination of their varied political odysseys makes intelligible to readers much of the inner motivation that ultimately led these men to the scaffold. In sharp contrast to the contemporary newspaper headlines, Avrich draws a picture of Parsons, based on newly uncovered evidence, that is especially poignant, provocative, and intense. By the time Parsons voluntarily surrenders himself to stand trial for a crime he did not commit, even the most skeptical reader will consider anew the profound dignity and simple heroism of this man so often portrayed in his time and since as the archfiend himself. In his portraits of Parsons, the other anarchists, and their accusers, Avrich seeks out that point where personal motivation and political commitment intertwine. His success in this both returns to the historical actors their individuality and gives the contemporary reader a rich, subtle history of the complex political culture that surrounded the events in Haymarket Square. This book is scholarly, moving, insightful, and compelling—and deserves the

widest possible audience within and beyond the profession.

NICK SALVATORE
Cornell University

CAROLYN JOHNSTON. *Jack London—An American Radical?* (Contributions in Political Science, number 117.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1984. Pp. xviii, 205. \$29.95.

Carolyn Johnston's study seeks to correct the scholarly neglect and disparagement of Jack London's socialism and the doctrinal basis of his thought; she deservedly criticizes both Joan London and Philip Foner for ignoring "the ambiguities" of London's views. She admits to his "deep contradictions" but scarcely goes beyond this confessional, simply shuttling between two distinctive descriptions: London's "commitment to socialism" and his rebellion against injustice.

Like all party members, London was a gas-and-water socialist, in the style of the Fabians or Eduard Bernstein's social democracy. Moreover, he shared with many American socialists an obsessive racism and a belief in Anglo-Saxon supremacy. Equally influential was a pernicious mix of ideas and passions: the desire for money and social status; scorn for the proletariat as a sodden, docile, downtrodden mass; fear of the world of the poor that beckoned to him like nemesis; and Spencer's Social Darwinian propositions. Small wonder, then, that London, Johnston concludes, was "muddled and inconsistent in theory and practice" (pp. 67–68). That the entire socialist movement around 1900 shared such conceptual infirmities—that it was unfocused, un-Marxist, and reformist in thought—makes it difficult to accept the idea of a revolutionary socialist movement in antebellum America and makes it virtually impossible to be serious about London's socialism. He was the dashing hero of the radical movement, but one wonders with what care he read "Carl Mark's *Capital*," which, in any case, he shamelessly mixed with Nietzschean hounds, superman sea captains, and virulent anti-Chinese and nativist sentiments.

We can appreciate London as a first-rate observer, obvious in such neglected works as *John Barleycorn* and *The People of the Abyss*, books that Johnston also slights in favor of *The Iron Heel*—understandably enough, given her survey. Indeed, her study of this novel is a solid contribution to the critical literature on London. What she fails to perceive, however, is that London was a type: mutatis mutandis, he belongs with Oliver Wendell Holmes and Theodore Roosevelt, as well as with "romantic revolutionaries" such as John Reed. London would endorse America's intervention in Mex-

ico in 1914 (against the "halfbreeds") and in European hostilities in 1917. Anent the former, Johnston notes his failure to "apply a Marxist analysis" and is seemingly somewhat surprised by this observation. But it is all of a piece with London's resignation from the Socialist party because it lacked "fire and fight" and with the appeal of Roosevelt, a politician and culture hero who was hardly dull. Like Roosevelt, he exulted in honor over cowardice and condemned "peacelovingness" and the "worshippers of fat." The nation's reading public would be drawn to him as it was to the red-blooded North Dakota rancher, Indian fighter, Spaniard-hunter, and former president. London not only had the finest ear for demotic speech of any novelist of his time but also had a feral imagination, a passion for the clash of arms, and a zest for the poetry of action. Scholars have noted these qualities, taking the measure of the novelist and the man. It is difficult to justify cutting down a forest for a conventional account that can be conveyed in a dozen or so pages.

MILTON CANTOR
University of Massachusetts

ROBERT HYFLER. *Prophets of the Left: American Socialist Thought in the Twentieth Century*. (Contributions in Political Science, number 109.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1984. Pp. x, 187. \$29.95.

To summarize and evaluate "American socialist thought in the twentieth century" in 187 pages is a daunting task, and one that Robert Hyfler has wisely chosen not to undertake. What he offers us instead is a series of brief but well-crafted essays on the ideas of those who were most closely identified with the erratic fortunes of the American Socialist party: Morris Hillquit, John Spargo, Victor Berger, Daniel De Leon, Bill Haywood, Eugene Debs, Norman Thomas, and Michael Harrington. He is concerned throughout not with their tactical maneuverings but with their philosophical predispositions. Yet, because all of these men were activists as well as intellectuals, Hyfler cannot avoid political questions, nor does he wish to. Thus, his book is a thoughtful, if not entirely original, discussion of issues central to the history of the left in the United States: the conflicts between reformers and revolutionaries, the tendency to oscillate between faith in electoral politics and calls for mass uprisings, the ambivalent attitudes toward trade unions and the welfare state, the suspicions about (but awareness of the need for) broad coalitions, and the impact of both the Communist party and the New Deal on the socialists.

Hyfler treats these matters with considerable sophistication. He carefully describes each man's point of view, drawing our attention to what distinguishes one doctrine from another. He is interested not

merely in providing sketches of various theoretical positions but also in assessing the general strengths and weaknesses in socialist thought and, like every other student of the subject, in accounting for the inability of the party to achieve its dream of transforming American society.

Hyfler's explanation for this failure springs from his own preoccupation with socialist ideas. In particular, he argues that too many theoreticians (whether moderate like Hillquit and Thomas or radical like De Leon) were elitist, authoritarian, and obsessed with the state as the primary engine of social change. Consequently, these socialists were less sensitive to the real needs and predicaments of the working class than was Samuel Gompers. With the notable exception of Debs, socialists saw themselves as instructors, experts, and technicians of reform rather than as humble participants in a democratic movement. And so the workers built their unions, voted their pocketbooks, and ignored their Marxist saviors.

This is persuasive as far as it goes. Yet, because Hyfler focuses almost exclusively on the shortcomings, blind spots, and prejudices of his several theorists, he rarely considers the possibility that their declining influence after World War I owed less to the inadequacy of their ideas than to the external circumstances of American life. At some point, Hyfler might have asked whether socialism—no matter who spoke in its name—became increasingly irrelevant to the solution of America's political and economic problems. Without at least raising this question, Hyfler's book begins to resemble those histories of medieval thought written by Catholic theologians: knowledgeable, intricate, ingenious, but filled with subtle laments for the way revealed truths were revised, diluted, misunderstood, and, finally, forgotten as the world turned to other concerns.

RICHARD PELLIS
University of Texas

EUGENE P. LINK. *Labor-Religion Prophet: The Times and Life of Harry F. Ward*. Foreword by CORLISS LAMONT. (Academy of Independent Scholars Retrospections Series.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1984. Pp. xxiii, 351. \$20.00.

Characterized by Eugene P. Link as a neglected prophet of Social Christianity and as a forgotten champion of the poor, the downtrodden, and the oppressed, Harry F. Ward receives his benediction in this biography. Ward, as Link vehemently argues, was the principal (if unrecognized) author of the "Social Creed of the Churches" (1907), the first major effort by Protestant church leaders and thinkers to confront the problems associated with indus-

trialization. Ward was also the first professor of social service and of Christian ethics at Boston University and Union Theological Seminary, respectively, and served as the first chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union board of directors until 1940 when he resigned to protest the expulsion of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn for membership in the Communist party.

Although an inspiring teacher and prolific writer (20 books and 192 articles), Ward may well have made his greatest contribution as an organizer. He was a founder of the Methodist Federation for Social Action (originally Social Service), which espoused the "Social Creed of the Churches." He was also a founder of the American Civil Liberties Union, the American League Against War and Fascism, and its successor, the American League for Peace and Democracy.

In all of these activities, Ward's rejection of capitalism, his fervent advocacy of social justice and civil liberties, and his efforts to reconcile Marxism and Christianity inevitably aroused opposition. Numbered among those who sought to still his compassionate voice were George Creel, J. Edgar Hoover, Martin Dies, and Joseph McCarthy. Despite such notoriety, Link still finds it necessary to rescue Ward from obscurity. Ward, Link concludes, "deserves to be known among a wide spectrum of people—those whose roots are deep in religious conviction, those whose identity with workers and producers of the world is close, those who believe in collective action and cooperation to achieve more social justice, and those who affirm Carlyle's 'eternal yea' that life, not death, is the better act of faith" (p. xxi).

Unfortunately, Link obviously believes that the resurrection of Ward is to some extent dependent on attenuating the reputations of other champions of social justice and civil liberties such as Reinhold Niebuhr, Roger Baldwin, and Norman Thomas. This ardent partisanship mars an otherwise effective biography.

GARY M. FINK
Georgia State University

ALEXANDER M. BICKEL and BENNO C. SCHMIDT, JR. *History of the Supreme Court of the United States*. Volume 9, *The Judiciary and Responsible Government, 1910-21*. (Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise.) New York: Macmillan. 1984. Pp. xiv, 1041. \$75.00.

This volume in the Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise series covers the chief justiceship of Edward Douglass White, who was a Confederate Army veteran, a leader of the opposition to Reconstruction in Louisiana, a U.S. senator, and a Cleveland ap-

pointee who served sixteen years as an associate justice.

The first seven chapters, completed by Alexander M. Bickel before his death, cover the politics of appointments, the decision-making process of the court, and adjudications concerning federal and state, social and economic measures that comprised the bulk of the court's work in the period. These chapters describe the court's generally tolerant posture toward Progressive legislation in opposing federal action and permitting state enactments to go forward despite the Fourteenth Amendment's imperatives. The concluding chapters, written by Benno C. Schmidt, Jr., analyze the court's civil rights decisions as expressions of more enlightened racial attitudes than are usually attributed to the Progressive period. The work succeeds in providing a detailed exposition of the record of the Supreme Court from 1910 to 1921. Both scholars include material not only from the cases but also from the personal papers and recollections of the justices and from a wide variety of newspapers and periodicals.

In discussing antitrust decisions, Bickel makes clear that, although the justices knew the public wanted stronger enforcement, the court distinguished between legal and illegal combinations in restraint of trade by applying a rule of reason that set no reliable standard of reasonableness. Alienated Progressives turned from the court and sought strengthened antitrust enforcement through the establishment of the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) and the Clayton Acts.

Bickel points out that during White's tenure the court took a more favorable view of the social legislation passed by the federal government than of that enacted by the states. The court often used federal preemption under the commerce clause to forbid state action, even when the court had already found that the federal government could not act because of the Fourteenth Amendment's due process clause.

For the nonlawyer one of the most interesting aspects of Bickel's discussion may be his description of how business used legal processes to insulate its activities. He points out that for clients in business lawyers often advanced improbable claims under the contract and due process clauses of the Constitution, even when they knew that if these cases ever got to the Supreme Court they would lose. By immediately obtaining an injunction from a friendly district court judge until all appeals were exhausted, lawyers could ensure that their client's profitable activities would continue for an indefinite period.

Bickel's section on the court's decisions concerning federal administration includes not only cases of the FTC and the Interstate Commerce Commission but also court of claims suits involving government contractors, bankruptcy issues, patents, copyrights,

trademarks, and unfair competition generally. Such cases are usually an overlooked part of the court's activities although they comprise a substantial part of its work. A brief description of Indian land claims and the conflicts over federal and state jurisdiction in Indian country and on Indian reservations is also included.

Schmidt's last chapters describe a court that he regards as more Progressive in matters of race than is usually acknowledged by historians. He infers Progressivism from the decisions striking down Oklahoma's grandfather case that restricted black voting, from a case outlawing a Kentucky ordinance restricting the right of a property owner to sell property to a person of a different race, and from the peonage cases that restricted the use of breaches of contract as a basis for putting laborers in involuntary servitude despite the Thirteenth Amendment. Schmidt attributes this Progressivism to the justices' belief in laissez-faire individualism, which scorned restraints on individual rights generally, and to a majority interest in more enlightened race relations. Although Schmidt's effort to emphasize the court's Progressive attitudes seems a bit strained at times, the question he poses is why the court took any Progressive steps at all during such a period of overall conservatism.

Although for scholars in constitutional history nothing much in this book is new, Bickel and Schmidt achieved the overall purposes of the series. They have produced what Bickel promised: "a lawyer's history, tracing doctrine, as well as a history for the general reader" (p. 722). They have placed the work of the court in the political, social, economic, and intellectual context and described the decision-making process and the inner workings of the court. More careful editing could perhaps have produced a somewhat shorter text, but that is a small complaint about a very useful book.

MARY FRANCES BERRY
Howard University

ALFRED E. CORNEBISE. *The Stars and Stripes: Doughboy Journalism in World War I*. (Contributions in Military History, number 37.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1984. Pp. xiii, 221. \$29.95.

To improve army morale during World War I, the American Expeditionary Force (AEF), under the command of General John J. Pershing, began publishing an eight-page weekly newspaper in Paris. *Stars and Stripes* first appeared on February 8, 1918, and ran for seventy-one consecutive Fridays. At its peak, 300 men worked on the staff, and its circulation among American troops exceeded five hundred thousand. Although formal direction rested with officers on a board of control at General

Headquarters, the enlisted men who ran the paper were given wide latitude. The newspaper enjoyed the services of a talented group of editors, writers, and cartoonists, many of whom later distinguished themselves in civilian life. These men included drama critic Alexander Humphreys Woolcott; the founder of *The New Yorker*, Harold Wallace Ross; sportswriter Grantland Rice; columnist and humorist Franklin Pierce Adams; the later secretary to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Stephen T. Early; and cartoonist Abian A. "Wally" Wallgren. Taken together, the efforts of such men, Alfred E. Cornebise maintains, reflected "journalism at a high level" (p. 170).

Cornebise's work is grounded in a thorough reading of the paper and on AEF records in the National Archives. The author has not attempted a definitive study of this publication, though, and the subsequent authorized editions of *Stars and Stripes* that appeared in 1927 and during World War II fall outside the scope of this book. The paper is treated as a "prism" through which we are suppose to gain "fascinating glimpses and insights . . . into the life of Americans soldiering in Europe, far from familiar scenes, under the conditions of a great war" (p. xii). The edition of *Stars and Stripes* during the First World War, Cornebise believes, provided "stimulating—if not great—literature" and "remains an American journalism classic, and perhaps a minor literary one as well" (pp. xii, 170).

The author eschews "traditional literary criticism," offering instead the narrative pieces and poems as the soldiers themselves presented them. The result is a series of uneven chapters, some of which do not rise above description and many of which will surely disappoint those familiar with Paul Fussell's *The Great War in Modern Memory* or John Morton Blum's *V Was for Victory*. Least satisfying in terms of analysis are the sections on advertising and "Army Mess and Uniforms."

Still, Cornebise does succeed in giving glimpses of army life in Europe during this period, and most interesting are his chapters on morale, sports and entertainment, religion and death, and attitudes toward authority. Of interest, too, is his discussion of how the publication mirrored racial stereotypes and anti-French sentiment common during 1918 and 1919. *Stars and Stripes* reflected the naive enthusiasm for war prevalent on the homefront, advising soldiers to put out of their minds that "war is a dreary . . . stale undertaking" and telling them that battle was "full of life, full of color, full of interest, full of promise, full of hope" (p. 101). Describing combat as "the thrill that comes but once in a lifetime," the paper compared it to a sporting event. "Away off you see the guns flashing. The whole sky vibrant. The weird light of the star shells stirs the imagination. You have a sensation much like that just before

you go into a football game" (p. 140). The publication, however, was not uncritical of sports heroes and reserved severe judgment for athletes who avoided military service. Fusing religion with the nation's cause ("the Prince of Peace and the Allies fought as one" [p. 95]), *Stars and Stripes* spoke of "the warm glow of a sense of belonging to something greater than one's self; of being bound up in one of the engines of history" (p. 99). Urging enlisted men not to worry about rank and promotion, the paper told soldiers: "Don't 'better yourself.' Better the Army" (p. 84).

This competent, narrowly focused study is illustrated with several pictures of *Stars and Stripes* staff members. Surprisingly, there are no illustrations from the paper or its cartoons.

STEPHEN VAUGHN
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ALFRED E. CORNEBISE. *War as Advertised: The Four Minute Men and America's Crusade, 1917-1918*. (Memoirs Series, number 156.) Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1984. Pp. xi, 181. \$15.00.

Alfred E. Cornebise's short study of the Four Minute Men in World War I is a useful addition to the literature on propaganda and modern war. The first two chapters are technical, describing the organization and *modus operandi* of the Four Minute Men. The group formed in March 1917 when some Chicago businessmen decided to use the spoken word in motion picture theaters to explain the new selective service bill to the nation. Later, the group became part of the Creel Committee and an official propaganda arm of the Wilson administration. By the end of the war, 75,000 registered volunteer speakers had delivered 755,190 speeches to a total of 314,454,514 people (three times the population of the U.S. at that time). This "democratic army" spoke in clubs, churches, streetcars, state fairs, parks, schools, and factories, but the primary forum remained the nation's sixteen thousand movie houses. Thus, in the age before radio, the ancient art of oratory was allowed a final moment of glory in front of a silver screen, in those palaces of what Robert Sklar calls the first instrument of the modern mass media.

In later wars there would be no organization that had influence equal to that of the Four Minute Men because the government would itself learn how to use the modern media and therefore not need the advertisers and public relations men who had run the Creel Committee. But in 1917 both radio and motion pictures were in their infancy. Along with the traditional press, the Four Minute Men therefore became the frontline agents of persuasion.

Unfortunately, the spoken word does not survive as a historical document. Cornebise therefore devotes most of his book to an analysis of the bulletins sent by the Creel Committee as instructions and guides for the Four Minute Men in the preparation of their talks. The bulletins dictated the topics of the speeches: the draft, the four Liberty Loan drives, Hoover's food campaigns, the Red Cross and other relief agencies, the home front, and the explanation of America's war aims. They even suggested the "Four Minute singing" of patriotic songs.

Cornebise presents convincing evidence that the Four Minute Men were successful. Money, men, and morale were raised by the volunteer pitchmen (and pitchwomen) who "cajoled, coaxed, exhorted, wheedled, stimulated and inspired" their audiences every day of the war. Even Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin D. Roosevelt used them to persuade Americans to mail in 36,696 pairs of binoculars for use by the navy after his appeal in the press failed. The First World War was not a "popular" war as the Spanish-American War had been or the Second World War would be, but this study demonstrates the significant role of the Creel Committee in creating at least some support for Wilson's great crusade.

STEVEN SCHOENHERR
University of San Diego

WILLIAM J. BREEN. *Uncle Sam at Home: Civilian Mobilization, Wartime Federalism, and the Council of National Defense, 1917-1919*. (Contributions in American Studies, number 70.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1984. Pp. xvii, 279. \$29.95.

In 1917 the United States entered the world war amid the Progressive drive for reform and improved social organization. Although overshadowed by the war itself, Progressivism and the concerns of the new middle class that nurtured it continued to shape American political life down to the armistice. In this book William J. Breen writes about one manifestation of the Progressive instinct during the war years: the state councils of defense that sprang up from Maine to California to meet the new demands of American involvement in the European conflict. These demands, ranging from the need for a census of potential war workers to the policing of nationalist sentiment, determined the directions the councils would take, but the Progressives' attachment to good organization, social peace, and middle-class values guided the councils' methods of operation, membership, and ideology.

Like Progressivism itself, the state councils of defense are difficult to define. At different times and places, they were tyrannical and tolerant, nativist and assimilationist, antiunion and prolabor, racist and concerned for the welfare of black Americans.

Yet Breen has captured their essence by picturing them as vast, decentralized, and voluntarist organizations, bridging the gap between America's traditional disdain for bureaucratization and what Ellis Hawley has termed the "associationist state" envisioned by Herbert Hoover during the 1920s. The councils offered an ultimately ungrasped alternative to the centralization generated by the wartime agencies created in Washington that enhanced federal power—especially the Committee on Public Information and the War Industries Board.

The state councils produced mixed results. In the short run, some were efficient and some were not, determined usually by the zeal and vision of their organizers and officers. Politics also played a part: strongly Progressive states generally created model councils, whereas those states still caught in a Populist tradition formed councils that were less efficient, reflecting the Populists' lukewarm support for the war. In the long run, the state councils generated only modest change, capitalizing on the war emergency to keep Progressive ideas alive but leaving behind little permanent reform by the time of the armistice. This proved particularly true for women, who, in creating their own divisions within state councils, achieved some bureaucratic success but failed to advance the status of women in American society. An exception to this rule was the effort, undertaken primarily by the women's divisions, on behalf of child welfare. Particularly in Illinois, a testing program for children produced startling results about the health and nutrition of two- to six-year-olds that transformed prewar concern about infant welfare into a successful drive, which survived the coming of peace, for an increased number of public health nurses. Yet the legacy of the state councils was more their decentralized structure rather than any specific reform programs.

There is much to like about this book. Dealing with a number of interesting themes about one of the most important periods of American history, it displays much good sense along the way. Its flaws are primarily organizational: too many chapters describe the activities of the councils on a state-by-state basis, which is not only tedious but also obscures some of Breen's most illuminating themes. The book is written in a lusterless style and bears many tell-tale signs of the dissertation that it originally was. Still, *Uncle Sam at Home* fills a gap in our understanding of Progressivism, World War I, and the 1920s and deserves to be read.

ROBERT C. HILDERBRAND
University of South Dakota

THOMAS K. MCCRAW. *Prophets of Regulation: Charles Francis Adams, Louis D. Brandeis, James M. Landis,*

Alfred E. Kahn. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1984. Pp. ix, 387. \$20.00.

A history of the more or less effectual efforts at government regulation of business in the United States would be long, tedious, and confusing. Thomas K. McCraw has produced an easily readable book by grouping types of regulation around the careers of the four men listed in the subtitle. The result is an introduction to the problems and operation of regulation, particularly federal, without piling up numerous examples from the history of enforcement or the wording of the statutes. In this survey from 1869 to the present the device works well.

A typical history on this subject starts with the political battle for a particular regulatory law, which shapes the text that is later to be interpreted by the courts. Then comes an unending conflict between courts and lawyers, on the one hand, who want to see each ruling of a commission tested by judicial process and the members of the government commission, on the other hand, who wish not only to enforce the statute but also to give "advance advice" on how to avoid violation. Looked at cynically, the legal profession seeks to avoid encroachment on their lucrative business, and the commissioners seek to favor their business friends, reduce their work load, and make reputations as important civil servants. There seems no reason to believe that the struggle will not continue along these same lines, with liberal courts tending to favor the regulatory group and conservative courts seeking to limit decision making by commissions.

Running through this knowledgeable account of certain commissions are biographies of the four men who were largely responsible either for the creation or for the activities of certain administrative bodies: the aristocratic and evenhanded Charles Francis Adams, the somewhat bigoted Louis D. Brandeis, the overly brilliant David M. Landis, and, finally, the highly sensible Alfred E. Kahn. Since the latter is still alive, he is not analyzed as thoroughly or, perhaps, as objectively as the others.

The most revisionist biography is that of Brandeis whose dislike of big business McCraw sees as nearly obsessive. The historian may add that this extreme dislike has a long history in American culture. Brandeis and Woodrow Wilson were responsible for the weak and highly vulnerable Federal Trade Commission Act of 1914, and two years later Brandeis was placed on the Supreme Court. McCraw's assessment is that "he made a truly great judge" (p. 135).

Running through the narrative is McCraw's distinction between center and peripheral industries. The "center group" has large economies of scale at some point in its production process. This advantage leads to big unified companies, which have

been held by the courts not to violate the specific provisions of the antitrust laws. The numerous "peripheral" industries that lack substantial economies of scale are often in cutthroat competition with each other, which leads to agreements on prices or quantities held by the courts to violate regulatory statutes. This is a good economic explanation of the old saying that the Sherman Act was "the mother of trusts."

This well-written book should appeal to a wide range of businessmen and social scientists.

THOMAS C. COCHRAN
University of Pennsylvania

DAVID MILTON. *The Politics of U.S. Labor: From the Great Depression to the New Deal*. New York: Monthly Review. 1982. Pp. 189. \$8.00.

In his preface David Milton forthrightly states, "I make no pretense that my research on the triangular struggle between capital, labor, and the state in the 1930s is based on startling new documentation for a new interpretation of a crucial epoch in the history of the United States" (p. 7). He is true to his word. *The Politics of U.S. Labor* is a rather familiar, frequently misleading, and careless rendering of the rise and maturation of industrial unionism during the thirties. To be fair, this book was not intended to illuminate the complex history of workers' struggles so much as to corroborate what the author's politics tell him must have been true both about the origins and purposes of industrial unionism and about the motives of those individuals who influenced the course of the Congress of Industrial Organizations' (CIO) development and the content of its political program.

Milton plausibly asserts that the industrial labor movement of the 1930s was special not merely because it afforded American workers material possibilities far beyond those that had been realized through the American Federation of Labor's (AFL) stubborn devotion to its threadbare craft-union structure. The successful organization of millions of previously neglected workers in the country's mass-production industries, coinciding as it did with the New Deal's politicization of the nation's economy through federal relief, recovery, and reform policies, meant that the new unions were destined to be activist political organizations no less than conventional collective bargaining agencies and that the CIO was obliged to function as the political instrument of the working class no less than as the servant of its members' material aspirations.

So far so good. Where Milton abandons historical analysis in favor of political faith is in assuming that industrial unionism was true to itself, and to the working class, only when its political development was in the direction of an independent labor party

and when its political goal was "the historic and classic working-class objective of political and economic control over factories and the system of production" (pp. 9–10). Thus, when the CIO ultimately turned its back on socialism and embraced mere economism—"the legitimate right to make material demands on the system" (p. 11)—it struck what Milton is compelled to regard as a Faustian bargain, surrendering its revolutionary soul for a guaranteed place in line at the paymaster's window.

That the industrial labor movement failed in the end to follow the socialist path that Milton thinks history intended was, he argues, "neither automatic nor inevitable; the outcome was decided by dispositions of power and nature of specific political coalitions contending for supremacy" (p. 10). This conviction obliges Milton to frame his explanation of the CIO's alleged abandonment of its true destiny in terms of a simplistic good guys–bad guys polarity. The good guys (or "left-syndicalists"), a category of remarkably transient proportions that initially included communists, Trotskyists, several varieties of socialists and liberals, and John L. Lewis, created the CIO to do battle with the bad guys, an equally volatile category consisting of only employers and the AFL until the Pied Pipers of economism, led by Franklin Roosevelt and the Catholic clergy, cunningly lured most of the good guys away from their earlier goal of an independent political effort in behalf of workers' control and toward nothing more momentous and enduring than a larger slice of the same old capitalist pie. So insidiously successful was this process of beguilement that by the fall of 1941 Milton's once robust assortment of good guys had dwindled to a handful of beleaguered Trotskyists and John L. Lewis, who is imaginatively credited with having validated his left-syndicalist credentials in 1940 by endorsing Republican presidential nominee Wendell Willkie.

For Milton the triumph of materialism over ideology within the CIO cruelly disappointed the presumably subliminal desire of the working class to employ industrial unionism in the service of radical political ends. One suspects, however, that the author, no matter how reverential his attitude toward the idea of the rank and file and notwithstanding his determination to confirm the infallibility of the masses, understands only too well that the individual industrial unionist of the 1930s was himself an instinctive "bad guy" long before the Roosevelts, Reuthers, Hillmans, and Murrays officially inducted him into the fraternity of economism. In sorting out the failure of American workers to embrace socialism, it is sometimes less profitable to consult Marx than Pogo, who trenchantly observed, "We has seen the enemy, and they is us!"

CLETUS E. DANIEL
Cornell University

ROBERT H. ZIEGER. *Rebuilding the Pulp and Paper Workers' Union, 1933–1941*. (Twentieth-Century America Series.) Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1984. Pp. xi, 242. \$19.95.

This book by Robert H. Zieger is the history of a small trade union chartered by the American Federation of Labor (AFL) in 1909. The union barely managed to survive the welfare capitalist era of the 1920s, but it took full advantage of the opportunities afforded by the New Deal to attain a solid footing by the outbreak of war in 1941. It was headed from 1917 to 1965 by a remarkable man, John P. Burke, whose own story deserves to be better known.

A major obstacle to organization was the bifurcation of the union's jurisdiction. The union started in the primary pulp and paper industry, which is highly integrated and located in rural areas. The workers were Anglo-Americans and French-Canadians, and for many years the union headquarters consisted of a few rooms above a store in Fort Edwards, a small town in upstate New York. The other part of the union's jurisdiction covered the relatively small converted-paper industry, consisting of highly competitive small plants producing boxes, stationery, and other paper products. These were located in the cities, and the employees consisted of various ethnic groups, including Jews, Italians, Portuguese, and Poles.

Like many early union leaders, Burke was a Socialist. He ran for governor of New Hampshire on the Socialist party ticket in 1914 and voted for Norman Thomas in the 1930s. But he never let his ideology stand in the way of the cautious business union principles that characterized his administration. Although his members were semiskilled and unskilled factory workers, he remained loyal to the AFL when John L. Lewis set off on his industrial union crusade in 1935. Despite the onslaughts of a new paper union chartered by the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), his moderation in collective bargaining and his willingness to cooperate with employers won out in the end. At the time of the AFL-CIO merger, the AFL Brotherhood had one hundred sixty thousand members compared with less than forty thousand for the CIO Paperworkers.

The International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers, as it is now known, does not get into the newspapers very much, but it is more typical of mainstream American labor organization than those that make the headlines. Much current labor-union history seems to be wandering off into the romantic mists of radicalism and so-called social history, so it is helpful to have this account of American working people who persisted in their efforts to build an *organization*, the only way

they could improve their living standards and secure dignity for their labor. Zieger's book, objective, analytical, and elegant in style, is a splendid example of how labor history should be written.

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Cornell University

ROGER BILES. *Big City Boss in Depression and War: Mayor Edward J. Kelly of Chicago*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1984. Pp. 219.

Some years ago on a social history tour of Chicago, our bus stopped in front of the late Mayor Richard Daley's home in the working-class neighborhood of Bridgeport. No one mentioned, however, that Edward J. Kelly was the first of a series of Windy City mayors—including Martin H. Kennelly, Daley, and Michael Bilandic—hailing from the city's southwest side. To remedy this oversight and to establish the importance of Kelly's administration, Roger Biles has studied the career of this big city boss during the Great Depression and World War II. He attempts to revise, sometimes straining to do so, the familiar interpretation of Kelly as the corrupt, power-hungry politico and points out that Kelly was concerned with the underprivileged, believed in the New Deal and its philosophical underpinnings, and was committed to the welfare of black Americans.

Kelly built his machine using massive infusions of federal funds during a period of extreme economic scarcity and millions of dollars procured from illegal sources. The city's businessmen trusted and supported him as did Chicago's blacks, to whom he offered jobs even before the New Deal provided work relief. Kelly's ability to assure good relations with Washington and his bringing of blacks into the Democratic party may have "constituted his greatest contribution to the growth and sustenance of [the] Chicago Democracy" (p. 88).

In making his case for Kelly's significance, Biles is sometimes critical, but, especially in the earlier sections of the book, he tends to rationalize his subject's activity. He remarks, for example, "While vote stealing and ballot stuffing undoubtedly occurred, little evidence exists to indicate that Illinois Democrats did any more of this sort of thing than their Republican counterparts" (p. 43). The volume also tends to bog down in the minutiae of local Chicago and Illinois political disputes and factionalism.

Although it does not go beyond old frameworks and offer a broad conceptualization of urban politics, this book nevertheless provides a useful case study of the development of the Chicago political machine in its pre-Daley form. In so doing, it demonstrates, frequently more by implication than

explication, how much of that machine was in place before the leadership of Daley. This volume, like several others, stands as a building block for the yet-to-be-written analytical and interpretive history of twentieth-century American urban politics and reform.

BRUCE M. STAVE
Beijing University and
University of Connecticut

SIDNEY FINE. *Frank Murphy*. Volume 3, *The Washington Years*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press or John Wiley and Sons, Rexdale, Canada. 1984. Pp. xii, 784.

In this concluding volume of his detailed study of Frank Murphy, Sidney Fine explores the Michigander's brief career as United States attorney general and as Supreme Court justice from February 5, 1940, to his death on July 19, 1949. Beginning with a chapter on Murphy's cabinet appointment, Fine spends six chapters on the attorney generalship and fifteen on the justiceship. In a concluding chapter, he summarizes the meaning of the Murphy record, especially the pros and cons of the later Supreme Court performance. As in the previous two volumes, Fine treats Murphy not only with care and concern but also with an objectivity that enables him to see Murphy's strengths and weaknesses with an insight and precision that can only come from having lived with the man for so long.

In placing Murphy against the backdrop of the great events that defined the nature of his times, Fine stresses Murphy's capacity for personal involvement, at times marveling that "fate seemed to place him uncannily in positions where the floodlight of general interest happened to focus" (p. 595). Murphy headed the Justice Department during an especially notable year and was a member of the Supreme Court during one of its most significant decades. Curiously, in citing his proudest accomplishments, Murphy referred to his tenure in the Justice Department and to his creation of the civil liberties unit but did not mention his Supreme Court career.

The Justice Department record was indeed sparkling. During that brief period, Murphy achieved substantial success. He instituted the prosecution of Tom Pendergast for income tax evasion and brought Judge Martin Manton, of the Second Court of Appeals, to trial for accepting bribes; indeed, his penchant for going after Democratic bosses led some party leaders to urge that he be kicked upstairs to the Supreme Court to forestall that process going further. He also greatly improved the quality of the office of the attorney general by reforming prisons, upgrading the caliber of judicial appointments,

backing the antitrust program of Thurman Arnold, and establishing the first civil rights section in the department's history. As Fine indicates, however, Murphy displayed some bad judgment as well. No event in his public career damaged his reputation as a civil libertarian more than the federal government's indictment of leftists for their part in recruiting Americans to fight in Spain. Other examples of his patriotic zeal also exist.

The justiceship, however, presents a decidedly less clear picture. After reviewing Murphy's role in virtually every one of the 199 cases for which he wrote opinions, Fine concludes that the record had decided strengths but even more weaknesses. Fine makes clear that Murphy was a passionate defender of civil liberties and civil rights, a stickler on procedural rights of the accused in criminal trials, a mortal foe of racism, and a man with great empathy for the indigent, the inarticulate, and the disadvantaged. Indeed, he contends that Murphy was one of the two or three most dedicated civil libertarians in the entire history of the Supreme Court.

But displaying careful balance, Fine deals forthrightly with Murphy's modest knowledge of the law and his lack of lawyerly skills, his minor contributions to conferences, his heavy reliance on clerks in writing opinions, and his scant effort to influence the character of the opinions written by fellow justices. As Fine concedes, "it was in the role of dissenter, the role of the underdog judge pleading for an underdog litigant that Murphy was most comfortable" (p. 594).

This work does Murphy both honor and justice. And to have been fortunate enough to have attracted so perceptive a biographer merely continues Murphy's legendary good luck.

PAUL L. MURPHY
University of Minnesota

DOMINIC J. CAPECI, JR. *Race Relations in Wartime Detroit: The Sojourner Truth Housing Controversy of 1942*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1984. Pp. xii, 240. \$37.95.

On the morning of February 28, 1942, twenty-four black families attempted to move into a new federally built housing project, the Sojourner Truth Homes, in northeastern Detroit. Designed to accommodate a total of two hundred families, the project was not to be integrated but was to be reserved for blacks. Even so, several hundred whites, most of them Polish-Americans from neighboring Hamtramck who objected to the project's location, converged on the scene to block the move. Police reinforcements were called in, but violence erupted. Officials, fearing that more serious violence would follow, quickly decided to postpone the blacks'

move. By noon, large numbers of angry blacks and whites had gathered, and a race riot broke out that continued, intermittently, the next day. There was no vandalism and little property damage; the rioters "concentrated on one another, on human targets" (p. 99). Forty persons, including 6 policemen, required hospitalization. Of the 109 rioters the police held for trial, 106 were black. A grand jury later indicted 3 of the white rabble-rousers, but no convictions were ever obtained. Two months later, the government assigned 1,400 city and state policemen and 1,720 state troopers, armed with rifles and bayonets, to protect the black families who, at last, were able to occupy their new homes.

The episode has often been regarded merely as a forerunner of the more deadly Detroit race riot of June 1943, in which 34 people were killed and more than 700 injured. One of the many merits of Dominic J. Capeci's excellent book is that it shows how the Sojourner Truth incident, even more than bloodier clashes, illustrated wartime patterns of race relations. The conflict, Capeci claims, "demonstrated the interaction of race, culture, and government in an era of rising expectations and blocked opportunities" (p. ix).

Capeci provides a careful analysis of race relations in Detroit in the early 1940s. He describes the impact of demographic changes resulting from the war boom, the nature of the political pressures affecting Mayor Edward J. Jeffries, Jr., and the relationship between the black community and the city police. The book contains a wealth of information about black employment, housing, health, and education. Capeci's account of the misunderstandings that existed between religious as well as racial groups shows that no group had a monopoly on intolerance. Capeci also examines the lobbying efforts of groups opposed to the project and of those favoring it, as well as the effect those efforts had on vacillating federal bureaucrats. Contemporaries placed the blame for the riot on the police, the blacks themselves, the Communist party, or the Ku Klux Klan, but, according to Capeci, such explanations involved "ideologically self-serving accusations" (p. 116).

Capeci, who has already published an account of the Harlem race riot of 1943, is now writing a book about the Detroit race riot. His study of the Sojourner Truth housing controversy is so informative, so impressive in its command of the manuscript sources, that there is every reason to look forward to his next volume.

RICHARD POLENBERG
Cornell University

MARTIN BLUMENSON. *Mark Clark: The Last of the Great World War II Commanders*. New York: Congdon and

Weed or Methuen, Agincourt, Ontario; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1984. Pp. 306. \$17.95.

Terseness and pithiness are the main virtues of this fast-paced, full-length biography of General Mark Clark by Martin Blumenson. And this work should be judged as a biography intended for the general reader rather than as a military treatise intended for the specialist. Scholarly apparatus is wholly lacking: there are no footnotes, detailed maps, or bibliography. An author's note informs the reader that the book is based on Clark's diary and personal letters (most of them never previously open to the public), interviews "with a host of individuals," and extensive discussions and correspondence with General Clark. Readers wishing specific references are invited to write to the author.

If this method seems to take liberties with the usual procedures, it should be kept in mind that the author has a rich background in both the sources and the secondary literature dealing with World War II. He is the author and editor of more than a half-dozen scholarly monographs and collections of original documents relating to military operations in North Africa, Italy, and Western Europe. In other words, what we have here is the result of several years of research and thought, not just the summation of a single investigation. His firm grasp of the subject enables Blumenson to offer many shrewd and penetrating observations that could easily go unappreciated owing to his succinct and compact style of writing. Particularly noteworthy are the pen portraits of principal characters that enliven the narrative.

Without ignoring strategical and tactical questions, Blumenson keeps the spotlight on the principal character—as all good biography should. He analyzes in some depth two main questions relating to personality: Clark's thirst for publicity and his dealings with the British. He maintains (correctly, in my opinion) that ambition and drive are essential traits of any successful commander and that the extent of Clark's glory seeking did not exceed that of other successful commanders, including Eisenhower. The principal difference was in their ability to conceal their drive and to work indirectly through others. In dealing with the British, Clark took to heart Eisenhower's command, issued early in the war, to get along with allies. Clark's conduct toward the British was always outwardly respectful and correct, but inwardly he seethed with resentment at what he considered British lack of aggressiveness in the Italian campaign and persistent British attempts to grab a disproportionate part of the credit properly belonging to the Fifth Army. These concerns help explain Clark's obsession with getting to Rome and getting into the headlines before the British could horn in and before the Allied landing in

Normandy pushed operations in Italy off the front pages of the newspapers.

In general, this biography presents both issues and personalities as Clark saw them and makes the best possible case for the last of the great World War II commanders as "an authentic historical figure and an American hero" (p. 289).

HARRY L. COLES
Ohio State University

FERENC MORTON SZASZ. *The Day the Sun Rose Twice: The Story of the Trinity Site Nuclear Explosion, July 16, 1945*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1984. Pp. xi, 233. \$15.95.

As the world approaches the fortieth anniversary of the detonation of the first nuclear weapon, we may anticipate a spate of books and articles on the dramatic events leading to the cataclysms in New Mexico and Japan in the summer of 1945. Among the first of these works is Ferenc Morton Szasz's modest but nicely crafted history of the Trinity site, where one atomic bomb was tested on July 16 of that momentous year.

Szasz has done what more of us historians should do—write a popular history of an important event that occurred in our own state or community. To be successful, such works must be short, well illustrated, and carefully written. They do not have to be especially profound or original, but they must capture the essentials of the story in clear description and summary.

Szasz has written a model of this kind of history. In nine short chapters he has set the stage for the discovery of nuclear fission in the early twentieth century, given the reader an interesting description of the region selected for the test and of the test facilities that were constructed, and provided a short but adequate explanation of some of the more interesting scientific and technical problems encountered. He also explains how the unpredictable weather made the suspense before the test almost intolerable. He brings some fresh touches to the oft-told story of the blast itself and examines in detail the problems of predicting and measuring the effects of radioactive fallout on cattle, photographic film, and people. Finally, he summarizes the implications of the test for both international affairs and the region around the site.

Szasz captures the essence of the events he is describing and presents in judicious, even-handed terms both sides of controversies among contemporary participants and among historians. This technique is necessary in so short a book, but I miss in this account some of the human emotion and the sense of frustration and tragedy that are so much a part of the history of the nuclear age. There are a

few minor errors in names and facts, but they do not detract from the value of the work. Szasz has written a book that can be effectively used in undergraduate history courses and that provides a fine example of how cosmic events can be explained in the context of local history.

RICHARD G. HEWLETT
History Associates Incorporated
Bethesda, Maryland

WILLIAM M. LEARY. *Perilous Missions: Civil Air Transport and Covert Operations in Asia*. University: University of Alabama Press. 1984. Pp. x, 281. \$22.50.

Civil Air Transport (CAT) was surely one of the most unusual airlines ever to fly. Founded in China in 1946 by two enterprising and adventurous individuals—Major General Claire L. Chennault of Flying Tiger fame and Whiting Willauer, who had previously handled logistical problems for Chennault—CAT played a unique role in the Chinese civil war. Although ostensibly a commercial air freight carrier, it served more often as a paramilitary adjunct of the Nationalist Chinese Air Force. As such, it carried troops and supplies, evacuated casualties and key personnel, and flew other support missions. Withdrawing to Taiwan with the defeated Nationalists, CAT was just about to go out of business for lack of customers when it was rescued by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. The CIA, which had hired the airline to ferry arms to anti-communist groups in western China in 1949, bought CAT outright in 1950.

Despite a difficult, if not an abrasive, relationship between CAT's managers and their CIA bosses and between the business side of the airline and the demands of clandestine operations, CAT proved to be a valuable tool of the agency. It supported CIA efforts in Korea, provided cover and secret airlift for intelligence activities throughout East Asia, and flew guns and supplies to guerrillas in China and to Nationalist troops still in Burma. In short, CAT allowed the CIA to operate with a flexibility and secrecy that it could not have enjoyed had the agency been forced to rely on normal military or commercial air transportation.

After the Korean War ended, the CIA charged the airline with assisting the French in Indochina. CAT's greatest effort came at Dienbienphu, where for nearly two months its civilian pilots braved heavy antiaircraft fire, and sometimes lost their lives, to bring food and ammunition to the beleaguered defenders. These sustained operations were a heavy strain on the airline's resources, and its activities were considerably reduced during the rest of the 1950s. Reorganized and renamed Air America, it

would later play a major role in supporting CIA activities in Southeast Asia.

William M. Leary's short but comprehensive history of CAT and its covert relationship with the CIA is a significant addition to the limited literature available on either the airline or American Far East intelligence activities in the two decades following World War II. A careful, well-written, and objective account, it is based on solid research and the author's thorough understanding of his subject. Among his sources are the documents and personal papers of many of the participants (including Chennault and Willauer), correspondence and interviews with many others (including former intelligence officers), and extensive notes from an official CIA history previously made available by the agency in defending itself against a lawsuit. That the CIA has had a historical program is not generally known, but, on the basis of what Leary has seen, its products are evidently both scholarly and comprehensive. They are certainly essential for historians without normal access to intelligence files. What other CIA histories have been completed and what their availability may be are obvious questions that should be pursued.

STANLEY L. FALK
Alexandria, Virginia

ROBERT D. SCHULZINGER. *The Wise Men of Foreign Affairs: The History of the Council on Foreign Relations*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1984. Pp. xiii, 342. \$27.50.

In its sixty-four years of existence, the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) has been praised as a school for statesmen, condemned as a conspiracy to undermine America, and characterized as the seat of boredom. The books and articles dealing with its activities have either originated with the council itself or been the work of its more inveterate critics. Robert D. Schulzinger's volume can justifiably claim, in the words of the dust jacket, to be "the first full, scholarly history."

Although the book treats the founding of the council and the various changes of direction in its leadership, policies, and journal (*Foreign Affairs*), the bulk of the volume is devoted to critical summaries, chronologically and thematically arranged, of unpublished CFR reports (although Grayson Kirk's memorandum of 1942, which buttressed the "unconditional surrender" concept, somehow escaped the author's notice), and, particularly for the past forty years, of monographs and journal articles prepared and published under the auspices of the council.

The "wise men" of the title are thereby revealed to have been sometimes wise, sometimes foolish, and

frequently prone to cliché. Readers familiar with American foreign policy can reach their own judgments on how much or how little the views expressed influenced, or at least paralleled, actual American policies. The less-informed will find scattered hints, but little conclusive evidence.

In a final, analytical chapter, Schulzinger effectively disposes of the more vitriolic critics of both the right and left and concludes that the CFR's influence has been less than has often been claimed or charged. That conclusion is in keeping with the general judicious, if occasionally somewhat flippant, tenor of the volume. It is also the result, however, of not taking the council's activities quite seriously enough and of eschewing careful analysis both of the demographics of CFR membership and of the effects of having essentially the same kinds of people (and often the same individuals) as members of the council and as policy makers in government.

Schulzinger's volume is useful as a summary of much of American foreign policy thinking because he demythologizes a subject on which previous publications have generally cast more heat than light. It can be read with profit.

MANFRED JONAS
Union College

DONALD R. MCCOY. *The Presidency of Harry S. Truman.* (American Presidency Series.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1984. Pp. xii, 350. Cloth \$25.00, paper \$14.95.

Donald R. McCoy's biography of President Harry S. Truman represents one more attempt to bring together a complete history of this man's life. This work gives us a readable encyclopedic survey of Truman's presidency. There are some facts that students of this period may discover for the first time. Most may know of Truman's diplomacy and his innovative proposals for medicare, civil rights, education, and conservation, but many may learn for the first time that Truman allocated federal assistance for the development of the synthetic rubber industry and the purification of salt water and that he pioneered such civil defense programs as Operation Skywatch and Conelrad.

As in most encyclopedias and surveys, however, much is omitted; indeed, too much. McCoy does not describe Russia's failure to live up to the terms of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. This Russian non-fulfillment helped lead to what has been popularly called the Cold War but was—as in the case of Korea—hot and heavy. McCoy makes no mention of how Russia failed to notify the U.S. of Japan's peace overtures before the Potsdam Conference; only in Germany did Stalin find it convenient to inform Truman. Truman knew of these so-called

overtures because the U.S. had broken the Japanese code, but it is important to know that Stalin—an ally—kept this information from the U.S. McCoy gives hardly any mention to the complex history involving Truman's recognition of Israel. And the observation that Arab forces invaded the Jewish state once it declared its independence (p. 137) is somewhat inaccurate. The Arab forces began their invasion and "holy war" as soon as the UN General Assembly voted in favor of partition in November of 1947.

Sometimes McCoy describes the bare outlines of a fascinating moment of history without giving the full flesh and blood of that moment. He tells us of Truman's effort to provide Eisenhower with a proper transition of government, but he fails to mention how piqued Eisenhower was when Truman ordered John Eisenhower home from Korea. Truman tried to protect Eisenhower and the presidency from the enemy in Korea. He tried to save the general from an agonizing and heart-rending circumstance and explained his reasons to Eisenhower at the time of the Inauguration.

McCoy gives a useful biography of Truman, but minus Truman himself. It is the sort of work one often gets from scholars teaching history courses in college—a good deal of text, but very little heart.

HERBERT DRUKS
Brooklyn College

DAVID J. BODENHAMER and JAMES W. ELY, JR., editors. *Ambivalent Legacy: A Legal History of the South.* Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 1984. Pp. x, 270. Cloth \$20.00, paper \$8.95.

If the South is a distinct region politically, socially, and economically, it stands to reason that its legal history, reflecting the values of society, will also possess distinct, if not unique, characteristics. And, if southern legal history illuminates the history of the South, it also provides a perspective for understanding the development of American law and legal institutions. On this entirely persuasive premise editors David J. Bodenhamer and James W. Ely, Jr., drawing on papers given at a conference sponsored by the University of Southern Mississippi and the Vanderbilt University School of Law, present the eleven essays contained in this volume as a legal history of the South.

In a solid and informative introductory essay Bodenhamer and Ely explain that, although southerners have shared the central constitutional values of resistance to arbitrary power, popular sovereignty, and protection of private property, their special concern with matters of race and caste, a rural culture, a hierarchical society, and a pervasive localism has caused southern law and legal institu-

tions to differ significantly from the law of northern and western jurisdictions. In a disappointingly slight companion essay of general scope, Lawrence M. Friedman tends to undercut the force of this analysis by suggesting that differences in regional legal development were not fundamental but merely concerned timing, pace, and manner of institutional change. Nine additional essays are organized under the themes of the southern economy, slavery and race, and the southern judicial system. With the exception of an insubstantial piece by Mark V. Tushnet on the legal strategy of the NAACP in the struggle against school segregation, the essays rest on foundations of impressive research and demonstrate mastery in the use of highly technical legal materials. The difference among the essays is that some offer significant general conclusions about the legal history of the South, whereas others focus on a single state or colony or address subjects of limited importance. In the former category are the essays by Tony A. Freyer on law and the antebellum southern economy; Harry N. Scheiber on the southern economy, federalism, and public policy since Reconstruction; Kermit L. Hall on the impact of popular election on the southern appellate judiciary; and Thomas D. Morris on the chattel mortgages of slaves. In the latter category are John V. Orth's essay on the Virginia state debt during Reconstruction; Philip J. Schwarz's on the Virginia criminal code for slaves; Peter C. Hoffer's on the criminal justice system in colonial Virginia; and A. G. Roeber's on the adaptation of German immigrants to English legal institutions.

For the general U.S. or southern historian the essays by Freyer and Scheiber on economic development and public policy, in addition to the fine survey by Ely and Bodenhamer, will have the greatest interest. The essays on slavery, however, suggest that the study of this subject is becoming so specialized as to be accessible only to a small number of experts. On the whole, the essays in this volume are worthy contributions to the field of legal history that in their technical proficiency and widely varying levels of generality and significance aptly reflect the state of contemporary American historical scholarship.

HERMAN BELZ
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RICHARD M. BERNARD and BRADLEY R. RICE, editors.
Sunbelt Cities: Politics and Growth since World War II.
Austin: University of Texas Press. 1983. Pp. x, 346.
Cloth \$25.00, paper \$9.95.

Scholarly and popular collections of city profiles are not uncommon. We have distinguished volumes like

Constance McLaughlin Green's *American Cities* and Asa Briggs's *Victorian Cities*. Another form of collective urban biography features essays by separate authors, like *Great Cities of the World* edited by William A. Robson and D. E. Regan and the volume under review. Regardless of multiple or single authorship, such collections serve scholarly purposes by distinguishing individual characteristics of cities rather than submerging them in aggregate statistics. Collective urban biography presents a paradigm that views the city as an artifact and focuses on the city-building process. In addition, by highlighting regional similarities, they can enrich our understanding of the interplay between sweeping demographic and ecological changes and individual cities.

This work edited by Richard M. Bernard and Bradley R. Rice provides an introduction to urban growth in the so-called Sunbelt since World War II and the different components involved in the city-building process. The editors chose a definition of the Sunbelt based on "public perception of the region" as reflected in business listings in telephone directories. A "sort of consensual" Sunbelt was isolated that included the twelve cities considered in this volume. These cities shared significant postwar growth based on four factors: defense spending, other federal outlays, a favorable business climate, and a desirable quality of life. In the introduction the editors attempt to provide a survey and comparison of the development of these cities, but it would have been useful if the editors had focused the individual essays more specifically for comparative purposes. In addition, the booster tone that occasionally intrudes into the introduction and some of the essays diverts the reader from the seriousness of the investigation.

The twelve essays vary in both length and approach, and the size of the essay bears no relationship to the size of the city. For instance, seventeen pages are devoted to Houston, whose metropolitan area had nearly three million people in 1980, whereas thirty-eight pages are devoted to New Orleans, which had a metropolitan population of a little over a million in the same year. The essays are all narratives, some being essentially short interpretative essays and others providing more detailed analysis. Unfortunately, a number lack any but the most casual statistical material. Population data for all Sunbelt cities are presented in the introduction, but the editors should have required that each author present statistical tables on a range of demographic, economic, and land-use data for his city.

The essays are uneven in quality. Raymond Mohl's study on Miami is the most insightful and well developed. The power of Mohl's essay derives from its sophisticated discussion of ethnic and racial conflict and change in the context of Miami's development as an international financial capital. Arnold

Hirsch provides a powerful essay on New Orleans as an untypical Sunbelt city, torn between tradition and economic development, and by racial conflict. Other essays are useful: Martin V. Melosi's on Dallas-Fort Worth is strong on economic development and comparative analysis with eastern cities, David R. Johnson's on San Antonio skillfully analyzes developmental politics, David L. Clark's on Los Angeles stresses the importance of the aerospace industry, and Bradford Luckingham's on Phoenix is worth reading, although it minimizes such problems as water supply. In a somewhat different class are the essentially interpretative essays by Barry J. Kaplan on Houston, stressing the importance of the private-sector model; Howard N. Rabinowitz on Albuquerque, presented as a city that has experienced conflict over growth and no-growth policies; and Anthony W. Corso on San Diego, an "anti-city" at the whim of federal policy and suffering from controversies over growth. Finally, the most limited essays are those of Rice on Atlanta, Gary R. Mormino on Tampa, and Bernard on Oklahoma City. These chapters, while providing some information, generally lack the qualities of good organization and writing, in-depth research, and sound analysis that in varying degrees characterize the other essays.

This collection offers a rather uneven introduction to the phenomena of Sunbelt urbanization. Because of the organization, it would be difficult to use for comparison between Sunbelt cities or to cities in the so-called Snowbelt, assuming that such characterizations are useful for understanding cities and urban networks. Those seeking fuller understanding from the perspective of either region-wide ecologic trends or individual city building will have to look to studies such as those by Carl Abbott, David Goldfield, and John H. Mollenkopf, as well as to a series of individual city studies undoubtedly underway.

JOEL A. TARR
Carnegie-Mellon University

ROBERT FISHER. *Let the People Decide: Neighborhood Organizing in America*. (Social Movements Past and Present.) Boston: Twayne. 1984. Pp. xxiv, 197. \$18.95.

On the domestic front New Left historians in the 1960s were motivated by two interrelated concerns: a desire to instill the concept of economic class into American historical analysis and an impulse to use historical inquiry to explain the systemic limits to American economic growth and prosperity. A commitment to social change was seen not only as compatible with good scholarship but also as prerequisite to sharpening the ability to decipher the historical record.

Robert Fisher echoes the voice of New Left historians. In this history of neighborhood organizing in America he uses his knowledge of archival and secondary sources, as well as his personal experience as a neighborhood organizer. He speaks to the concerns of minorities and the poor without romanticizing their plight or underestimating their obstacles. He covers the scholarly bases while consciously playing to a larger audience—namely, organizers in the field who, Fisher believes, would benefit from a knowledge of their history. The result is a successful blending of activism and analysis, of scholarship and social commitment.

Fisher divides the history of neighborhood organizing into three dominant traditions: social work, which tries to forge a classless sense of community through developing and delivering social services; political activism, which strives to restructure political power among competing economic classes; and neighborhood maintenance, which is primarily concerned with sustaining and enhancing local property values.

Within this typology Fisher describes the evolution of neighborhood organizing from its liberal origins in late nineteenth-century settlement houses to the professionalization of social work in the early 1900s, to radical impulses generated by the Great Depression, to Cold War suspicions in the postwar era, and to New Left organizing campaigns in the 1960s. Throughout this chronology Fisher expounds two overriding themes. First, neighborhood organizations, despite their intense local orientation, are tied to national events, sometimes serving as catalysts for changes in national policy and sometimes finding themselves severely restricted by the tone and tenor of federal programs. Second, although participatory democracy is the goal of neighborhood organizations, the importance of effective leadership should not be devalued. These observations, although directed primarily toward neighborhood organizers, may also aid historians in their assessments of reformist organizations throughout this century.

Fisher's concluding chapters point to the success of post-1960s "New Populist" organizations (such as ACORN with over twenty-five thousand members in nineteen states) and to their impact on the civil rights and women's movements. Current neighborhood organizations, however, have not necessarily been wedded to liberal or leftist sentiments. The success of conservative homeowners' associations in Houston and, more generally, the New Right's ability to tap grassroots constituents indicate that a belief in local control and citizen participation spans the political spectrum. "Let the people decide" is a slogan without an inherent political ideology. Thus, Fisher concludes that progressive neighborhood organizations not only should deliver social services

but also must foster a clear set of alternative political and economic beliefs. If New Left historians urged scholars to be activists, Fisher urges organizers to study their history. In this provocative and scholarly book, he has made a valuable contribution to our understanding of neighborhood organizing in America, as well as to the potential value of history beyond the walls of academia.

DANIEL SCHAEFFER
Tennessee Valley Authority
Norris, Tennessee

KAY FRANKLIN and NORMA SCHAEFFER. *Duel for the Dunes: Land Use Conflict on the Shores of Lake Michigan*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1983. Pp. xviii, 278. \$18.95.

Duel For The Dunes emphasizes conflict between economic developers on the one hand and conservationists and preservationists on the other. At issue was control of the undeveloped portions of the Indiana Dunes. Before 1900 industrialization and urbanization had been established along Lake Michigan near both the Michigan border, at Michigan City, and the Illinois border, especially at Hammond, Whiting, and East Chicago. Early in the new century, United States Steel, an industrial giant, located new and modern mills at Gary to capture more of the midwestern market. Other industries were added, and by 1940, save for about twenty-five miles of dunes from Gary to Michigan City, the natural landscape of the dunes had largely been obliterated. With land readily available and the dunes viewed by many as obstacles to be leveled or removed, economic developers had in general easily obtained what they desired.

In the meantime, interest in conservation and preservation slowly emerged, and concern for the noneconomic value of the dunes increased. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, scientists and naturalists from Chicago and elsewhere explored and studied duneland. Their reports and publications augmented awareness of the beauty and diversification of the flora and fauna along the lakeshore. The scientists and other visitors found the dunes delightful for visiting and vacationing, which was fostered by nearby railroads and, later, by automobile travel. Summer cottages and homes appeared among the dunes. In 1914 preservation-minded groups, ranging from clubwomen to members of the Audubon Society, formed the Conservation Council of Chicago, which was dedicated to the preservation of part of the Indiana dunes. Two years later Stephen Mather, head of the National Park Service, advocated federal appropriation for an Indiana Sand Dunes National Park. That same year Indiana established its first two state parks as

part of its centennial observance of statehood. Seven years later, while Richard Lieber was director of the Indiana Conservation Department, a Dunes State Park was approved.

By 1940 conflict between developers and conservationists had intensified. Both the Wierton Steel Company and the Northern Indiana Public Service Company had purchased land within the undeveloped dunes. The Bethlehem Steel Company, one of the nation's industrial giants, showed interest in locating there. Local and state developers and politicians had created a strong demand for a harbor and port, on which the United States Army Engineers finally reported favorably in 1949. During the 1950s Bethlehem Steel made large purchases of land, which, the chairman of the board explained, had not been secured for "a bird sanctuary." A Save the Dunes Council, led by Dorothy Buell of Odgen Dunes and Thomas Dustin of Fort Wayne, rallied conservationists and preservationists for the fray. Starting in 1957, Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois, much despised by many Indiana developers and politicians, introduced the first of a series of bills calling for an Indiana National Dunes Lakeshore. The conflict was eventually resolved during the 1960s, when the Kennedy administration proposed and Congress sustained both the project for a harbor and a port and the establishment of the Indiana National Dunes Lakeshore.

Even though developers and preservationists alike obtained a partial and significant victory, the compromise caused some supporters on each side to move into the ranks of the opposition. Some preservation-minded residents of the dunes who were adversely affected by the creation of Dunes Lakeshore opposed it, while various industrial interests in developed areas (including the East Chicago Chamber of Commerce) lobbied against the harbor and port and helped finance the Save the Dunes Council. The authors accuse key officials of the National Park Service of obstructing a proper development of the Dunes Lakeshore, but their sharpest barbs are for President Reagan and Secretary of the Interior James Watt, whom they charge with arbitrarily tipping the scales heavily in favor of economic developers. The authors are largely successful in being fair to all concerned, but, as dedicated preservationists themselves, they at times judge economic developers and politicians from a limited perspective. The historical background has some errors of fact. Nevertheless, this book is a thoughtfully and substantially researched case study that merits a wide audience.

DONALD F. CARMONY
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RICHARD H. K. VIETOR. *Energy Policy in America since 1945: A Study of Business-Government Relations*. (Stud-

ies in Economic History and Policy, The United States in the Twentieth Century.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1984. Pp. xvii, 363. \$29.95.

Richard H. K. Vietor reviews the history of fossil-fuel energy policy in the United States since World War II and, in the process, provides a framework for understanding how government and business interact. Chronologically, the story is divided into three periods. The first period, 1945–58, was characterized by excess supplies of cheap energy that underpinned our economic growth. The following decade was one of “stasis,” with relatively stable market shares and prices for the three fuels studied: coal, petroleum, and natural gas. During this period, however, our comfortable energy surplus was being eroded away, largely unnoticed by consumers. The third period, 1969–80, was one of painful adjustment to the disappearance of cheap domestic reserves of petroleum and natural gas. Although the need for a rational national energy policy was pressing, the lack of unity and coherence in business and governmental goals tended to intensify rather than to mitigate the consequences of energy shortage.

The essence of this account is the shifting tensions between the market mechanism and the administrative management of resource allocation. Vietor finds that, in times of surplus, intrafuel and interfuel conflicts typified the public policy process. In the 1950s, for example, cheap imported crude oil caused intrafuel conflicts between international oil companies and domestic producers; interfuel competition pitted natural gas against coal as a public policy issue. Within the natural gas industry, conflicts between the interests of producers and consumer defied regulatory resolution.

The author sees the adoption of mandatory crude oil import quotas in March 1959, after an unsuccessful experiment with voluntarism, as “the single most important energy policy in the postwar era” (p. 115). The quotas provided the backdrop for the decade of stasis that followed, and they delayed the structural and economic adjustments that were badly needed. The OPEC oil crisis of 1973, despite its clear message about the disappearance of cheap energy, failed to call forth a successful national energy policy. Twenty-five permanent congressional committees investigated one or more aspects of the energy crisis but failed to come up with satisfactory answers; legislation frequently worked at cross-purposes. The national interest was so ill defined and so lacking in consensus that institutional channels for interaction between business and government broke down.

Vietor finds in this complex story vindication for his propositions that surplus induces political conflict within and among industries, whereas shortage leads to political conflict within government and

between government and business. Significantly, he finds that business influence on public policy was limited by structural diversity and that government intervention in business fluctuated within limits set by ideology, institutions, and the market.

Anyone interested in government-business interaction and its impact on fossil energy policy will find this book invaluable. It offers a provocative analysis of how energy surplus was turned into shortage and how both market and administrative mechanisms proved deficient in dealing with the problem.

ARTHUR M. JOHNSON
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Orono

HUGH DAVIS GRAHAM. *The Uncertain Triumph: Federal Education Policy in the Kennedy and Johnson Years*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1984. Pp. xxiv, 280. \$22.00.

Elwood P. Cubberley's classic *Public Education in the United States* (1919) located the cockpit of power in educational policy making at the state level. Historians of American education who in the 1960s led the revolt against the Cubberley school of historiography implicitly shifted the locus of power in education to the city school system level. In the meantime the increasingly dominant role of the federal government in educational policy making was neglected. Hugh Davis Graham has helped fill that lacuna.

The Uncertain Triumph tells the story of federal educational policy making during the years 1963–68. It includes fascinating vignettes of the politics of federal aid to early childhood education, handicapped children, and to “developing institutions,” that is, black colleges, as well as a provocative epilogue dealing with the legacy of the Great Society educational reforms. The centerpiece of the book is the battle over passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, one of the spectacular breakthroughs of Johnson's Great Society.

The book depicts the federal role in educational policy making from the point of view of the executive branch—the White House, the Bureau of the Budget, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), the United States Office of Education (USOE), their constituencies in the world of American education, and their links to Congress. The central thread of continuity in Graham's narrative is executive planning through presidential task forces, a Great Society innovation. The task force was a device designed to by-pass the normal bureaucratic flow, provide for innovation, combat the inherent inertia and boundary maintenance of agencies like HEW and USOE, and maximize the

leverage of the president over the "iron triangles," the entrenched, permanent subgovernment backed by its powerful allies in the congressional subcommittees and clientele groups.

In his final budget message to Congress, President Johnson proudly catalogued the educational achievements of his presidency. Title I of ESEA assisted in the education of nine million children from low-income families, while Head Start covered seven hundred sixteen thousand preschool children and Follow Through sought to preserve the educational gains of sixty-three thousand five hundred more. Federal programs had been created to aid the instruction of one hundred eighty-two thousand handicapped children. There were even more impressive achievements in federal programs to aid higher education. It added up to federal intervention on an unprecedented scale into areas of educational policy that had hitherto been almost the exclusive preserve of state, local, and private jurisdiction. The result, Graham concludes, was a decidedly mixed blessing.

Graham tells his story in the ironic mode. The task forces became another contestant whose interests had to be considered in the political process that eventuated in school legislation. The political circumstances that conditioned ESEA's birth necessitated its implementation by an educational bureaucracy—USOE and, to a lesser degree, HEW—"that had not designed it and was not organized or staffed or spiritually inclined to carry it out" (p. xvi). The result was a large measure of chaos and consequent collapse of morale by the end of the 1960s.

The Uncertain Triumph is based largely on research in the archives of the Johnson and Kennedy libraries, the National Archives, and the Office of Education Archives in the Education Library of the National Institute of Education. A brief review can hardly do justice to this richly detailed and revealing book. It casts the whole dilemma of current American education and the current school reform movement in a new perspective. Although this book will not bring comfort, one would like to think that school reformers would profit from reading it. Social and educational historians will find it a splendid and indispensable work.

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W. DAVID COMPTON and CHARLES D. BENSON. *Living and Working in Space: A History of Skylab*. (NASA History Series.) Washington, D.C.: National Aeronautics and Space Administration. 1983. Pp. xiii, 449. \$20.00.

With the continual progress of the Space Shuttle and the glamorous Apollo flights, too many Americans have forgotten Skylab, the program that bridged the gap between the two. The promoters of Skylab had to establish their program as valid while the Apollo program held public attention and support. By the time the last Apollo went up, enthusiasm for space exploration had waned, and Congress had other priorities. Proponents of Skylab had to weave their way through their colleagues at the National Aeronautics and Space Agency (NASA) who were committed to Apollo as well as through the members of Congress who saw little use for further space ventures.

Skylab seemed an afterthought, a use for leftover Apollo hardware. But it was not merely that. It put scientists in space in a laboratory where they could work. Back on earth, other scientists could look at men living and working in space. The program had internal validity.

Apollo was an exercise in power politics and a demonstration of engineering skill and cooperation between the university, the industrial plant, and the government. Showing America's capacity for material achievement in an extraordinary way, the Apollo series was a response to the Berlin Wall and the voyages of Sputnik.

The scientific community never really warmed up to Apollo and believed that NASA could have studied the universe much more easily, safely, and frugally from unmanned space exploration. But many space enthusiasts believed, and with sound reasons, that a space station, a mini-Skylab, should have preceded the moon shot. Wernher von Braun, pioneer space engineer and rocket builder, had earlier suggested an earth-orbit rendezvous for Apollo. Several spacecraft could have docked at the initial satellite before one took off for the moon; on its return the spacecraft could dock again before final reentry into earth's atmosphere.

The program did use Apollo hardware at Kennedy Space Center: a Saturn-V booster to send the Skylab into orbit; three Saturn I-Bs, atop a specially designed pedestal (called the "Milk Stool") to lift the three teams of astronaut-scientists to the orbiting space station; the Vehicle Assembly Building; and the crawlerway to Pad 39.

Skylab advanced knowledge about space and prepared men for the Shuttle program. Scientists made solar and terrestrial observations, solar telescopes accounted for one hundred three thousand photographs, and earth resources instruments provided countless photographs. Medical investigations had access to blood pressure measurements, electrocardiograms, and samples of human waste to study the habitability of the space vehicle, motion sickness, and the effect of weightlessness on humans.

Charles D. Benson and William D. Compton succeeded in researching the story while many principals remained on the scene. Benson showed the same dedication in unraveling the Skylab story that he did in his earlier Apollo history, *Moonport*. Benson's co-worker, William D. Compton, brought to the task a background in science. He is now working on a second NASA history project.

Complicated matters of science and engineering and the mechanism of giant bureaucracies do not lend themselves to easy reading. But Benson and Compton have written clearly and interestingly. They deserve our praise.

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CANADA

SHEPARD KRECH, III, editor. *The Subarctic Fur Trade: Native Social and Economic Adaptations*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 1984. Pp. xix, 194.

DANIEL FRANCIS and TOBY MORANTZ. *Partners in Furs: A History of the Fur Trade in Eastern James Bay, 1600-1870*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1983. Pp. xvi, 203. Cloth \$25.00, paper \$9.95.

The fur trade formed the basis of Canada's economy for well over two hundred years, from the second half of the sixteenth century until the mid-nineteenth century. Although not of such fundamental importance in U.S. history, the trade still figured prominently as a principal forum for economic and cultural interchange between Amerindians and Europeans as long as there was a frontier. Despite its importance and despite the many scholarly works devoted to the trade, its nature has not been well understood, particularly as it affected native Americans. Historical accounts typically see the trade as having had an immediate and profound impact on native societies as a consequence of supplanting the technology of stone and bone with that of metal. Without underestimating the importance of this technological shift, it can be asked if the fur trade did, in fact, invariably cause the natives to be instantly dependent on European goods and to lose their native cultural self-confidence.

Recent studies indicate that such assumptions need serious reexamination. *Partners in Furs* by Daniel Francis and Toby Morantz and *The Subarctic Fur Trade* edited by Shepard Krech III offer insights as perceptive as they are probing. Writing on the Cree of the eastern side of James Bay, Francis and Morantz state that "the notion of Indian dependence . . . does not reflect the variety and complexity

of Indian responses to European trades" (p. 168). In practice, there were a number of trades, "differing over time depending on economic situations and differing from place to place depending on geography, ecology and relationships with the Indian people" (p. 167).

Francis and Morantz take exception to such widespread misconceptions as the immediate dominance of the gun and of steel traps. Practical considerations, such as the availability of ammunition or the cost of traps, dictated that the intruding technology would have been sparingly used at first. Nor did Amerindians flock to the posts with as many pelts as traders would have liked; early accounts abound with references to difficulties in motivating the natives to harvest more furs. Eventually, the intensification of contact led to modifications in acceptance patterns; but, as the authors demonstrate, Amerindians had considerable latitude as to the degree to which they allowed themselves to become involved in the trade and were able to influence procedures to a surprising extent. Amerindians might not have been equal partners in the trade, but they were partners nonetheless.

The collection edited by Krech elaborates and extends these points. In his essay on the Slavey and Dogrib at Fort Simpson, Krech notes that responses varied "from one individual to the next, from one band to another, and one ethnic group to the next" (p. 142). Carol M. Judd finds that at Moose Factory Amerindians who supplied provisions and services rather than furs developed a relationship to the trading posts that was distinct from that of distant fur-supplying "uplanders." In contrast, the "inlanders" at James Bay were flexible "generalists," adapting as the occasion demanded. They engaged periodically in the fur trade, but never to an extent greater than necessary to maintain their way of life as independent subsistence hunters and gatherers. As Morantz observes in her essay, such adaptive strategies could use the trade to strengthen aboriginal life styles rather than debilitating them.

Overly enthusiastic cooperation with the trade often compounded problems of survival in the far North. Specialization and overexploitation, consequences of the trade's focus on fur production, increased the risk of food shortages while undermining Amerindian abilities to deal with them. In a key essay Arthur Ray persuasively argues that this eventually led to independent hunters becoming welfare recipients, which has occurred extensively throughout the Canadian North. The spread of "civilization" has not been without its attendant pitfalls.

Taken together, these two works demonstrate in careful (and sometimes tedious) detail that aboriginal societies, like the fur trade itself, are not to be viewed as monolithic. Each society, no matter how

"primitive," consists of various elements, and the idea of a "simple" society is deceptive. These different elements change at varying rates; for example, technologies change faster than ideologies. Thus, depending on perspective, the same society can simultaneously be seen both as being in a state of evolution and as being static. But, whatever the interlocking rates of change, adaptation has always been a *sine qua non* for survival. Nowhere is this more evident than in the far North. In contributing so substantially to the understanding of the complexities of the interaction of the fur trade with northern hunting and gathering societies, these works also contribute to the understanding of interaction between human societies in general.

OLIVE PATRICIA DICKASON
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DONALD HARMAN AKENSON. *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1984. Pp. ix, 404. \$35.00.

Students of North American social history will be pleased to learn that Donald Harman Akenson, the much-published scholar of Irish educational and rural history, has turned his attention to the diaspora. Judging from internal evidence, this is but the first of several books he has planned on the impact of nineteenth-century Irish migration on British North America and perhaps also on the United States.

As an ethnic historian Akenson has an unusual problem: his immigrant group became the majority, or almost the majority. Language and culture did not separate but rather helped integrate the Irish into Canadian society: the Irish in Ontario did not so much conform to a norm as become the norm. They were so numerous and ubiquitous that in a very real sense they reshaped the host society with their Irishness. Akenson argues in this microanalysis of two townships in eastern Ontario that much of what seems British about the colony in the mid-nineteenth century was, in fact, Irish. In Ontario the Irish disappeared as an identifiable social group by becoming the dominant culture.

Akenson presses this ironic, revisionist argument with twinkling wit and ingenuity in the text and more sternly in long, disputatious historiographical footnotes. In several previously published articles and now in this major book, Akenson restores the Irish to their proper place of prominence in nineteenth-century society and at the same time strips away the layers of bias and error that have heretofore obscured them in the literature. He is at his persuasive best recalculating migration statistics, subjecting census data to a searching examination, and teasing meaning from assessment rolls. What he

discovers from all of these careful tabulations is that the Irish were already the largest immigrant group in Ontario before the Famine migration and that they were almost as numerous as the native born themselves. In the process he explodes the myth that the Irish were poverty-stricken, urban proletarians unsuited for agriculture. On the contrary, as his subtitle indicates, the vast majority of Ontario's Irish immigrants became farmers, agricultural laborers, craftsmen, or merchants in the countryside. Moreover, his close study of two townships suggests that as farmers the Irish were on average slightly more successful than their native-born neighbors.

The tight focus on the Leeds and Lansdowne townships, the intricate interweaving of demographic data and local history, and Akenson's intimate understanding of the social geography of the region—he lives and farms there himself—all combine to prevent the Irish from becoming a mere abstraction. This is especially true of his account of the rise of the Irish to social, political, and economic power in the 1830s. Nevertheless, his study remains a curiously self-indulgent book in which for long stretches a powerful intelligence plays on too little data. It is not just that the 584 Irish counted in the 1842 census give rise to a 404-page book but also that scraps of evidence are examined from every angle, sometimes just for the sheer pleasure of it. The argument becomes overbearing with repetition. One comes away with the sense that if Akenson is right, and if anything he errs on the side of caution, we are all Irish.

Nonetheless, Akenson's book bristles with wit and insight, and either directly or indirectly forces a reconsideration of much of what is currently believed about nineteenth-century society. Apart from the joys of revisionism and the striking conclusions, this book is also worth reading for the delightful home truths the author drops in passing, such as: "By its very nature any local opposition to the spread of the anti-drink movement left little mark upon the historical record: the man who wants to have a jar in peace does not sign a petition, have a parade, or form a lodge, but merely takes the lid off the family crock and puts his feet on the hearth" (p. 222).

H. V. NELLES
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JOHN G. REID. *Mount Allison University: A History to 1963*. Volume 1, 1843–1914; volume 2, 1914–1963. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, for The University, Sackville, New Brunswick. 1984. Pp. xi, 391; 500. \$37.50 each.

MICHAEL HAYDEN. *Seeking a Balance: The University of Saskatchewan, 1907–1982*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 1983. Pp. xix, 379. \$24.95.

There are bound to be similarities between these two scholarly and readable histories. The institutions they explore, like most such institutions in North America, bravely sought to embody the Newmanite ideal of the university and, at the same time, meet the urgent professional and pragmatic needs of their constituencies. Neither began life or ever functioned as a stereotypical ivory tower pristinely divorced from its environment, but there the basic resemblances abruptly end.

Mount Allison was founded in Sackville, New Brunswick, in 1858, when the bison and their Indian and Métis hunters were still the principal denizens of the prairies, a part of the continent that seemed peculiarly unsuited for anything so civilized as a university. When the University of Saskatchewan materialized in 1909, it did so barely four years after that fledgling province was admitted to the Confederation. The prairie institution was established as a state-supported place of higher learning, modeled to a remarkable degree on the University of Wisconsin where freedom from state control was the hallmark. That attribute was highly prized by Walter Murray, the moving spirit and director of the University of Saskatchewan. To "seek a balance," that is, to serve the community that supported it and yet remain free to pursue what it perceived to be its own best interests, was, as Michael Hayden makes abundantly clear, the leitmotif of the University of Saskatchewan.

Mount Allison's situation unfolded differently. Like most such initiatives in the nineteenth century, Mount Allison was denominationally inspired and not lavishly funded by the state. It was created through the exertions of Methodists who forged a connection with higher education that changing circumstances and the onslaught of secularism have never wholly severed. And, whereas until recently the University of Saskatchewan dominated the province, Mount Allison was always made painfully aware of how its horizons were limited by other more favoured institutions in the Maritimes, such as Dalhousie University and the University of New Brunswick. Indeed, their presence and Mount Allison's habitually straitened resources meant that its constituency, unlike Saskatchewan's, was severely restricted. Saskatoon was the metropolis of a veritable academic empire compared to the modest hinterland that Sackville sought to cultivate.

There were also pronounced differences in the curricula offered by these two universities. Mount Allison was committed to the ultimate verities of the classics and the humanities, in keeping with those mid-Victorian times that relegated the natural sciences to a subordinate place in the pecking order. The University of Saskatchewan, however, was launched when the sciences, stimulated by exciting theories and emboldened by equally exciting discov-

eries, were challenging the ancient primacy of the arts. As Hayden states, it is not surprising that Murray, although willing to accord the humanities a place in his academic universe, looked mainly to the sciences "as a means of raising the level of all education in the new province and of providing solutions to the many problems that faced it" (p. xvi).

These differences are reflected in the approach that Reid and Hayden take and in the tone that permeates their work. On the one hand, Hayden at times assumes the role of self-appointed tribune, a kind of academic Horatio at the bridge anxious to protect the spirit and purpose of Murray's university from the indifference of faculty members innocent of Saskatchewan's traditions and from the hostility of politicians seldom comfortable with the notion of public support divorced from public control. The upshot is that parts of his work, particularly the closing sections, take on the muted stridency of a faculty association brief. Reid, on the other hand, enjoys the luxury of knowing, after his own exhaustive two-volume investigation, that Mount Allison stands in no immediate danger of having its traditions seriously eroded. As a result his thorough and comprehensive history is written more soberly and without that sense of urgency that colors Hayden's. In a few places, admittedly, the sobriety produces an irritating worshipfulness and the thoroughness a stultifying recitation of minutiae (football and hockey scores, to name some). All the same, Reid explores in depth what many university histories fail to do in their preoccupation with what happened in the president's office. He devotes, for example, considerable space to how the activities, views, and aspirations of successive generations of undergraduates helped to shape the university's development. This is an important contribution.

Hayden pleads lack of background material on the social and intellectual history of the prairies to justify his decision to write a narrow institutional history, even though in places he furnishes an admirable intellectual history at least of the University of Saskatchewan. Regardless of whether he had more regional materials to work with than Hayden, Reid does a superlative job of placing his subject in a wider social and intellectual context. Developments in New England and Ontario, for example, are surveyed to determine the uniqueness of Mount Allison, which, after all, was off and running long before many universities that now presume to dominate the Canadian academic world were even thought of. Reid is also keenly sensitive about those economic and political factors in the Maritimes and elsewhere in the country that alternatively promoted or retarded Mount Allison's growth. But he never permits the awesome environment to swallow up his subject. He carefully takes the reader

through the varied stages whereby Mount Allison, like the University of Saskatchewan, aimed at seeking a balance of its own, reconciling the pursuit of academic excellence with the moral obligation of serving the basic higher educational needs of its constituency, the legacy of its original church connection.

CHARLES M. JOHNSTON
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NELSON WISEMAN. *Social Democracy in Manitoba: A History of the CCF-NDP*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press; distributed by University of Toronto Press, Buffalo, N.Y. 1983. Pp. 180. \$20.00.

The democratic socialist movement in Canada has been well served by scholarly works since the publication of Seymour Martin Lipset's remarkable *Agrarian Socialism—The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan* (1950). Like most other scholarly monographs on Canadian social democracy, Nelson Wiseman's work is carefully researched. He combed the party archives and newspapers and interviewed party worthies. Like other academics writing on the subject, Wiseman is in broad sympathy with the aspirations of those whose activities he chronicles and analyzes. His former involvement in the left-wing Waffle group in the New Democratic party (NDP) does not prevent him from giving a fair account of those who dominated the provincial wing of the NDP in the 1960s and 1970s.

Although socialist pioneers were active in Manitoba as early as the 1890s and although the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), the precursor of the NDP, has presented a major threat to the status quo since the 1930s, it was only in 1969 that victory at the polls did not elude the New Democrats. Wiseman's skillful portrayal of the social democrats as they moved from the periphery to the center of politics in Manitoba will be appreciated by all who are familiar with the complexities of this society that is partly rural, multiethnic in character, dependent on exports, and dominated by the city of Winnipeg with its long tradition of labor militancy. In less than one hundred sixty pages Wiseman discusses party policies, finances and organization, the social democrats' vicissitudes in the electoral arena, and their relations with farm groups, labor unions, and Communists.

Since so much has happened in Manitoba in the twentieth century, no historian can be equally at home with every aspect of the political scene. The book contains no in-depth study of the methods that the anti-socialists used to mobilize popular support on election day. More attention could have been paid to the problems that the provincial NDP gov-

ernment encountered in raising additional revenue and in coping with union demands.

These criticisms notwithstanding, Wiseman's book is a valuable contribution to our understanding of one of the most successful social democratic parties in North America. Lipset apart, few scholars have succeeded in assimilating such a wide range of material and in covering so much ground. The study of provincial social democratic parties in Canada can only gain if others try to emulate Wiseman's broad sweep of the CCF-NDP in action.

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LATIN AMERICA

SHELDON B. LISS. *Marxist Thought in Latin America*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1984. Pp. x, 374. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$8.95.

Sheldon B. Liss introduces his book on Marxist thought in Latin America by defining Marxism to include the ideas of Marx, the ideas of Marx as interpreted by various schools of thought, and the social movements and parties derived from Marxist ideas. His concern is to survey Marxism as expressed by what Antonio Gramsci calls "organic intellectuals," that is, thinkers (*pensadores*) who consciously work for their own social class. Liss's approach focuses on thinkers who have passed their fiftieth birthdays and whose major studies were published before 1970. His survey studies in detail fifty-five writers from Mexico, Cuba, and South America.

By way of introduction, Liss sketches the ideas of Marx and his major interpreters, including Gramsci, whose cultural and humanistic Marxism became popular in Latin America after World War II. The author's intellectual biographies include, among many others, the ideas, social circumstances, and historical significance of writers who are representative of twentieth-century Marxist thought in Latin America: the Chilean historian Luis Vitale, the Brazilian strategist Carlos Marighela, the influential Peruvians José Carlos Mariátegui and Hugo Blanco, the Colombian radical priest Camilo Torres, Uruguay's "plain" Marxist and Tupamaro Abraham Guillén, Mexican historians Jesús Silva Herzog, Pablo González Casanova, and Adolfo Gilly, and Cuban activists Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, Ernesto "Che" Guevara, and Fidel Castro.

Liss concludes his study with a useful and insightful summary and analysis of the general characteristics of contemporary Latin American Marxist thought. Most *pensadores* are middle-class thinkers who have developed proletarian values and believe that politics is the articulation of class conflict. The

best are scholarly skeptics who suffer no illusions about their accomplishments. Many are educators in the political sense who are attempting to eliminate what Gramsci called "bourgeois ideological hegemony," or popular acceptance of the precepts of capitalism. Many advocate the theory of a noncapitalist path to communism, believe that dependency theory is a helpful heuristic and consciousness-raising device, and argue that the Cuban example demonstrates that noncommunists can overthrow a capitalist system. Typically, most are males who have paid little attention to the exploitation of women as sex objects or as workers. Some pursue liberation theology and have joined the Christians for Socialism movement. Before the failure of "Che" in Bolivia and the death of Salvador Allende, most were neo-Marxists who replaced "vulgar" and "dead" Marxism with dependency theory. Since 1973 many have assumed more theoretical stances, including classical and structuralist perspectives that emphasize precapitalist modes of production, class relations, and internal contradictions.

Like most human products, this work is not without some limitations and weaknesses. The biographical organization produces an encyclopedic structure that will be an obstacle to many readers. The inclusion of strategists like Marighela and Torres is not entirely consistent. And, if strategy and tactics are important Marxist concerns, why is treatment of the 1960s debate over Régis Debray and the "foco" theory excluded? By excluding younger Marxist theoreticians, Liss has chosen not to treat the writings of Theotonio Dos Santos, Roger Bartra, and others who have either revised and modified dependency theories or have substituted a "structuralist" perspective. Liss also overlooks the debate by Marxists and non-Marxists concerning the validity of Immanuel Wallerstein's and Fernand Braudel's modern world-system model, which challenges most traditional historiography, Marxist and non-Marxist.

The book is an important contribution to the literature of Latin American intellectual history. While Liss is aware of his subjective limitations (including an independent socialist bias), he still manages to approach his topic in an objective and honest manner that is free of both Marxist and academic jargon and should appeal to both Marxist and non-Marxist readers. This is the first book of its kind to derive ideas from the published works of Latin American Marxist writers, most of whom have not been translated into English and published in the United States, a place, as Liss notes, "Marx is more talked about and misquoted than read" (p. 11).

W. DIRK RAAT
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EDWARD L. COX. *Free Coloreds in the Slave Societies of St. Kitts and Grenada, 1763-1833*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1984. Pp. xiii, 197. \$16.95.

Edward L. Cox has chosen two islands of the Caribbean, St. Kitts and Grenada, to examine the position of free coloreds in the context of slavery. The period from 1783 to 1833 was a period of reform in Europe, reflecting the new questioning of hierarchical social relations and unleashing a new regard for humankind as a self-regarding moral entity. The movement manifested a lively concern for the underdog everywhere, even for the slave, for "a man's a man for all that." Some of these ideas filtered through to the colonies and created restiveness, especially among those whose freedoms were circumscribed.

In Caribbean slave society the clear-cut racial dichotomy between black slaves and white masters was transformed into white masters and a color gradation of nonwhite, nonfree individuals that resulted from miscegenation and made the notion of the slave as chattel a legal fiction. Some of these racially mixed people were freed, but most remained slaves. Cox has studied the freed, who, incapacitated by restrictive local laws, were, not surprisingly, among the first to be affected by the revolutionary ideas from Europe.

Cox does not make clear why he chose these two islands to study. At first, one assumes he recognizes the Anglo-French connection of each colony. St. Kitts, the first British plantation society of the region, uneasily coexisted with the French on the island until 1713 when the British obtained the French portion. Grenada was more or less French until the British gained the island under the Treaty of Paris (1763). Thus, both islands had a French presence, and it is therefore surprising to find Cox's choice based on the fact that "Grenada with its inherited French population offers a . . . point of contrast with St. Kitts, which was predominantly British" (p. xii). As a result of immigration, by the latter part of the eighteenth century Grenada had a British majority living side by side with a "sizable proportion" (p. 10) of white French colonists.

Like the free mulattos on the other British islands, those of Grenada and St. Kitts suffered severe discrimination in law and custom: free mulattos could not vote or seek high office, they could not serve as jurors, and they could not hold commissioned offices in the militia in which they served. Social barriers were so great that free mulattos "were buried in a part of the public cemetery, distinct from those of whites, sometimes with a wall dividing the two sections" (p. 95). But perhaps most galling was the official practice of lumping free mulattos together with slaves, especially in those laws that prescribed corporal punishment. The free coloreds

in Grenada, however, did have in their midst a likely ally—the dissatisfied French whites who were discriminated against as both French and Catholic. This finally culminated in the famous Julien Fédon's uprising (1795–96), which Cox calls a “revolution” (chap. 5). Fédon, a free property- and slave-holding mulatto of French extraction, tried with other free coloreds, French whites, and thousands of slaves to effect a revolution. This was less a free-colored uprising than a pro-French, anti-British war inspired and assisted by Victor Hugues, one of the Jacobin commissioners sent into the region to “export” revolution. The British crushed the “revolution” in fifteen months. The wonder is not that it happened at all but that it did not succeed, given such favorable aggregates of internal and external social circumstances conducive to successful revolutions.

Cox's work is a welcome addition to the study of free coloreds within the Caribbean slave system, adding to the volumes by Jerome S. Handler on Barbados and Mavis C. Campbell on Jamaica. Although Cox has not filled a “void” with respect to the external factors that affected the status of the free coloreds of the area, as he claims, we do need more monographs of this nature on other islands as well as on mainland territories such as Guyana and Cayenne.

MAVIS C. CAMPBELL
Amherst College

B. W. HIGMAN. *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807–1834*. (Johns Hopkins Studies in Atlantic History and Culture.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1984. Pp. xxxiii, 781. \$65.00.

This important work of demographic reference contains 61 tables and 75 figures in 398 pages of textual analysis. It offers an additional 182 tables in a 302-page supplement, as well as excellent maps and a dense bibliography. It is based heavily on slave registration returns, a vast but varied record of vital data compiled after 1813. Although there is much insight here, statistical compilations tend, in the main, to verify the common property of historical understanding. The data have served B. W. Higman, as they will serve others, as a rich basis for comparative analysis. At the same time the work exposes the limitations of numerical evidence in answering many critical historical questions.

Higman classifies the colonies for analytical purposes into four categories reflecting the distribution of slaves by crop type. By 1830 nearly 80 percent of the slaves in the old sugar colonies (Barbados and the Leewards) were engaged in sugar production. This figure fell to 70 percent in the newer sugar colonies (the Windwards, Trinidad, and Guyana)

and to nearly 53 percent in Jamaica; in the marginal colonies (Honduras and the Bahamas) sugar was not a factor. But it is clear that on the eve of emancipation the British Caribbean was more dependant on sugar exports than at any other time.

Barbados was the exceptional colony. There the population of slaves and freedmen grew throughout the period. Elsewhere the decline in the Caribbean slave population was only exceeded by decreases in the white population. Although the number of slaveholders among whites and freedmen was large, the typical West Indian slave lived in a unit of more than one hundred slaves. Even after the abolition of the slave trade, in the newer sugar colonies the influence of Africans in the slave community was substantial, their social role being enhanced by their adult status. If points such as these have been, in general, well known, they are now thoroughly supported by numerical detail.

Higman's extensive study of medicine and disease is a valuable and fresh contribution to the literature, particularly his treatment of *mal d'estomac*, or “dirt-eating.” His use of human height as a measure of nutritional status and physical well-being may, in view of the questionable quality of record keeping, represent a case of stretching the data too far. It is certainly a case of unduly numbing the reader with statistical “facts” of uncertain utility. We are told that British West Indian Creoles were taller than Cuban Creoles but shorter than North American slaves, who were themselves shorter than Bahamian slaves; that enslaved Jamaicans were shorter than free Jamaicans; that free Afro-Jamaican males were shorter than free Afro-European Jamaicans; that Jamaican-born whites were taller than British-born whites; and that West Indian slave children were shorter than factory children in Britain—all of this in one paragraph! On the basis of such evidence, Higman surprisingly concludes that the children of Britain's satanic mills suffered more than American or Bahamian slave children but less than slave children in the sugar colonies—a highly dubious conclusion to have reached from measurements of height.

Higman determines that variations in the rate of natural increase in the British West Indies were determined predominantly by mortality, not fertility, and the essential factor influencing mortality was the crop under cultivation, not the differential treatment meted out by masters. If Higman's textual treatment of statistical data is occasionally tedious and overly long, the merit of this enormous compendium is not in doubt. It is a major contribution to Caribbean studies, an essential work of reference that will serve us all for decades to come.

WILLIAM A. GREEN
Holy Cross College

LOWELL GUDMUNDSON. *Hacendados, políticos y precaristas: La ganadería y el latifundismo Guanacasteco, 1800–1950*. San José: Editorial Costa Rica. 1983. Pp. 255.

Despite the attractive title, this paperback by Lowell Gudmundson is more a compilation of four research prospectuses than a book per se. It consists of four exploratory and documentary studies of the economic life of Guanacaste, the Pacific coast province of Costa Rica that borders Nicaragua. The first essay, "The Expropriation of Properties Belonging to the Pious Works of Costa Rica, 1805–1860" (pp. 17–44), carries the subtitle "A Chapter in the Consolidation of a National Elite." The author explains that the 1804 royal decree of "Consolidación" led to the acquisition of these properties by the elite living in the eastern plateau area of Costa Rica, where wealth took the form of large cattle concentrations roaming on the grasslands of the Guanacaste. This initial essay, setting the format for the sections that follow, includes several maps, charts, statistical tables, and documentary lists, all based on materials found in the Archivos Nacionales de Costa Rica in San José. A valuable appendix completes the section, followed by the footnotes.

The next two essays deal with the cattle industry in the Guanacaste. Part 2 (pp. 73–101) has the title "Notes for a History of the Cattle Industry in Costa Rica: 1850–1950" and outlines a prospective book on that subject. The objective here is to discuss the available documentary sources and certain problems that they pose. The author also presents the major analytical guidelines for the projected volume, in addition to all relevant documentation. The next essay, "The Agrarian Struggles of the Guanacaste, 1900–1935: Tenant Farmers and Hacienda Peasants, Responses to Agrarian Capitalism and Political Reformism" (pp. 177–96), deals with differing peasant attitudes about the land and the impact of these beliefs on the government's agrarian program.

The final section, "Documents for the History of The Mining District of Guanacaste" (pp. 207–51), is not an essay but rather a few commentaries on the documents.

Gudmundson's major contribution to the field is the presentation of a vast amount of material that he has collected, analyzed, and reproduced in vital charts, maps, and statistical analyses. Moreover, the conclusions that he has already formed are clearly revisionist, non-Marxist, and nondeterminist. He is convinced that one cannot ignore the historical realities that emerge from the archival documentation and show why Costa Rican entrepreneurs did not follow the pattern that was typical elsewhere in Latin America. The peasants' responses were likewise molded by the reality and their beliefs about

land. The many provocative notions in these reports arouse our expectations for the final volumes that the author has in mind. As a political historian, this reviewer hopes that Gudmundson will take greater pains to integrate and explain in more detail the political factors that accompanied the exciting economic vignettes that he has outlined here. There is much reason to be sanguine—the author's training at Stanford and Minnesota has been put to good use in this valuable exploratory and documentary account.

MARIO RODRIGUEZ
University of Southern California

D. RAMOS et al. *Francisco de Vitoria y la Escuela de Salamanca: La ética en la conquista de América*. (Corpus Hispanorum de Pace, number 25.) Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. 1984. Pp. 724.

This is an advanced product of the Las Casas industry founded by Lewis Hanke. Its fifteen contributors focus on doctrinal history and operate on two levels, the ostensible-objective and the subliminal-suasive. While they trace the crystalization of Spain's colonial theory, they are proclaiming Spanish decency. They also cope with Las Casas on whose testimony they ineluctably rely. His inconsistencies are at times gleefully exposed, along with much other evidential reexamination.

The first section carries the story through 1553. Antonio García writes about a dozen theologians in Spain who early attacked overseas injustices while justifying royal power. Isacio Pérez shows that the clerics in the New World then disavowed evangelization from conquest and, with Las Casas, secured the New Laws, although, Manuel Lucena adds, the fiery friar's program still fell far short of his rhetoric. In 1550 legists and theologians set tough rules for the Las Casas—Sepúlveda disputation at Valladolid, which Jaime Gonzalez details. Recounted in Vidal Abril's boxing-ring metaphor, this contest saw Las Casas discard past tactics to smash through his "twelfth reply": even Christianized Indians are free to refuse submission.

Enter Francisco de Vitoria, natural-law defender of both the Indians and Spanish sovereignty. True, he died in 1546, but his students and theirs blanketed the universities of the peninsula, influenced other European centers, and adapted the master's ideas to postconquest realities. This consensus of the school of Salamanca is detailed by Luciano Pereña, Ramon Hernández, Jaime Brufau, Carlos Baciero, and José Barrientos.

The last section considers Vitoria's followers in America. Agueda Rodríguez's list of 216 Salmantine alumni beckons to the prosopographer-statistician.

Prometeo Cerezo looks at the career of Mexico's founding intellectual, Alonso de Veracruz. Pedro Borges shows that, as the sixteenth century progressed, ecclesiastic opinion grew more timid—and intimidated. To close, Guillermo Lohmann Villena panegyricizes Spanish-Peruvian self-criticism, exemplified by "Victorian-Lascasian" Francisco Falcón. Appended are a bibliography, a list of Salamanca professors, and two printed documents.

My brief muster does little justice to the volume's acuties, especially in its first section. Positions and chronologies are rigorously established and some facts clarified: García establishes that Montesinos did not preach against war; Lucena, that Charles V did not envisage abandonment of the Indies; and Gonzalez, that the Valladolid judges probably outlawed further conquests.

The book is marred by a worshipful naiveté. Surprised by the conquests, the crown remedied their excesses through regulation. So claims Demetrio Ramos in his introduction, but he only comes to grips with conquistador power in his summation. As presented by Brufau and Baciero, the much-touted revisionism of Vitoria's continuators sounds trivial and no more efficacious than the laws they presumably helped to shape. Meanwhile, Spain's intellectual atmosphere grew ominously rigid, a fact glossed over here.

Beyond questions of substance, one is wearied by iterative exegetical minutiae, centering obsessively on "just war." Moreover, the scholarship appears a bit inbred, ignoring the investigations of Peter Boyd-Bowman (in L. Pereña's essay on migration), of James Muldoon (in Ramos's Hortensian view of the *Requerimiento*), and recent English-language titles. Occasional misspellings irritate, as do variable methods of citation. An index is sorely missed.

Undergraduates will do much better with Anthony Pagden's admirable *Fall of Natural Man*. But for researchers *La ética en la conquista* provides a trove of rationales and references.

FRED BRONNER
Hebrew University

KAREN SPALDING. *Huachirí: An Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1984. Pp. viii, 364. \$38.50.

Karen Spalding has written an excellent book about the Andean people who lived in Huachirí during the Spanish colonial period. Her work is the result of long years of patient research, refinement of ideas, and rewriting. Wherever possible she integrates what anthropologists and archaeologists have to say about the Andes and Huachirí with what the written record in all its diverse forms reveals. In places the book reads like what it originally was—a

doctoral dissertation—but much of this material bears repetition because it is important for understanding the Andean past and present.

Spalding discusses what has become an almost sacred range of categories: the relationship between people and environment, land ownership, and human groups; the economic and social impact of the Spanish conquest; the role of the Indian elite (about which the author has written so well before); and the challenge to colonial rule. Within each theme there is a loose chronological order, and the book hangs together well.

Huachirí, almost due east of Lima on the western slopes of the Cordillera Occidental, is the major geographical focus of the book, but gaps between significant blocks of data are frequently long and broad, so data from other parts of Peru and even New Spain are used to fill the void. This lessens somewhat the ability to generalize, but it is often the best one can do. Research in this kind of study frequently depends only on scraps of information from different decades. The task of breathing life and meaning into such fragmentary evidence as well as plotting the intervening periods challenges judgment and historical imagination. Spalding has used her manuscript sources in a sound and imaginative manner.

The Spaniards realized early on that land and religion were the keys in controlling the indigenous Andean society. Do away with Indian religion and the integrated Indian world would collapse; hence, the extirpation of idolatry. One gets the feeling that the Indian of Andean Peru was more flexible than this; the work of Steve Stern has shown this to be so for the Ayacucho region, at least in the early post-conquest years. Nevertheless, coastal Peruvians reacted differently to the process of religious uniformity. Perhaps some comparative regional studies are necessary to examine the reactions to the imposition of Spanish economic and social institutions.

How quickly did the Andean concepts of land-holding Europeanize? By the eighteenth century land in Huachirí was already considered a source of wealth, not merely a source of food. On coastal Peru this change occurred much earlier. And how skillfully were the Peruvian elites used by the Spaniards to help them rule? And how willingly did Peruvians exploit their own people?

This book says much to many. It explains how the people of Huachirí reacted to the demands of the conqueror; it explains the mechanism of Spanish colonial rule in a specific region of Peru; it also speaks clearly to those who would try to understand modern Latin America. The long pattern of violence and exploitation that reaches back to pre-Spanish times and the struggle over scarce natural resources remain part of the fabric of Andean

society. I suspect that *Huarochiri* is a microcosm of what happened in much of Latin America.

NICHOLAS P. CUSHNER
Empire State College

EUGENIA SCARZANELLA. *Italiani d'Argentina: Storie di contadini, industriali e missionari italiani in Argentina, 1850-1912*. (Ricerche, number 120.) Venice: Marsilio. 1983. Pp. 175. L. 18,000.

The two million Italians who migrated to Argentina at the turn of the century had an enormous impact on almost every aspect of the native society, but only in recent years have scholars devoted sufficient attention to the subject. Italian immigrants radically altered the composition of the population, played a crucial role in the country's economic development (both rural and urban), stimulated the growth of a middle class, and transformed traditional Argentine culture.

Recently, the Argentine scholar Francis Korn edited a collection of essays entitled *Los Italianos en la Argentina* that demonstrates the high quality and intellectual sophistication of work among current Argentine scholars. The Italian scholar, Eugenia Scarzanella, carries on this tradition in her work. She examines the economic and social impact of Italians on Argentina and argues that the integration of immigrants into Argentine society was brought about by appeals to ethnic ties and the use of cultural institutions. The protagonists she chooses for closer examination are the Italian industrialists and small farmers.

Chapter 1 focuses on the industrialists and workers. Here the author not only demonstrates the importance of Italians to the growth of Argentine commerce and industry but also shows how ethnic ties permitted them to play this role. Italian solidarity proved important in obtaining credit and gaining access to technology. The Italian community constituted a ready-made market for a series of specialized foods and other consumer products. The growth of the city led to a boom in building, which, in turn, stimulated a demand for Italian architects, construction companies, engineers, and workers. These points are skillfully demonstrated by the use of several biographies of Italian captains of industry.

Chapters 2 through 5 shift the focus from urban Buenos Aires to rural Argentina. The four chapters are tied together by the involvement of various sectors of the Italian community in the first large agrarian strike in Argentina, the *Grito de Alcorta* of 1912. The strike was the culmination of grievances caused by the characteristics and contradictions of the agricultural system. The farmers complained of absentee owners, speculators increasing land values, banks giving speculators unlimited credit, taxes fall-

ing most heavily on small and medium landowners, and the cost of railroad transportation. Urban and rural intellectuals from the Italian communities joined together in common cause and provided the leadership for the strike. Thus, Italian socialists and radicals joined with Italian journalists, priests, lawyers, and school teachers, as well as the Italian consuls, to direct the strike. This multiclass, ethnically based leadership sought to work within the system and rejected revolutionary solutions.

I would like to have had more information on the details of the overall process of Italian migration to Argentina and especially on the informal networks and specific ties that enabled ethnic solidarity to function effectively. We need to know more about the background and cultural baggage of the emigrants if we are to understand their experiences as immigrants. Nevertheless, this book makes an important contribution to Italian migration studies by demonstrating the significance of ethnicity in the successful adaptation of Italians to rural and urban society in Argentina.

SAMUEL L. BAILY
Rutgers University

KAREN L. REMMER. *Party Competition in Argentina and Chile: Political Recruitment and Public Policy, 1890-1930*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1984. Pp. x, 296. \$19.95.

This is an important book that scholars working on the 1890-1930 period of Argentine and Chilean history will want to consult. Political scientist Karen L. Remmer provides a vast array of hitherto inaccessible social and political data. Her analysis of the socioeconomic backgrounds of the Argentine and Chilean political elites is perhaps the most satisfying yet to appear in the scholarly literature. Her carefully constructed and clear statistical tables bring together new information on relationships between government budgets and social change.

The objective of this research is to test a proposition made in the political science literature—that a positive relationship exists between the degree of political party competition and the democratization of the political process—in terms of participation and the distribution of benefits. Latin Americanists may well suspect that this is a dubious proposition, and Remmer confirms these doubts by analyzing and comparing Chile during the period of parliamentary dominance (1891-1925) and Argentina during the first period of formal democratic government (1912-30).

Remmer's thorough and methodical examination of political structures and public policies leaves little doubt that the relatively well-developed party system in Chile neither broadened political participa-

tion very much nor expanded the state's role in economic and social development. Only one major social reform—the Compulsory Education Law of 1920—marked the thirty-four years of the Chilean “parliamentary republic.” In contrast, the Argentine party system was newer and less well defined than the Chilean, but the more dynamic nature of Argentina's economic development and social change led to greater popular involvement in politics and to a more democratic recruitment of political leaders. As a result, Argentina moved farther in the direction of the interventionist and reformist state than did Chile (at least before 1925).

On the whole, the research is impressive. Remmer has examined a formidable variety of congressional debates, government budgets, censuses, and ministerial reports. She also demonstrates admirable familiarity with the secondary literature. This solid grounding in the sources enables Remmer to develop her arguments cogently and, on the whole, convincingly, although specialists will encounter a few weaknesses in factual interpretation. This problem is particularly apparent in her analysis of Argentina, with whose history she appears less familiar than that of Chile. Remmer's statement, for example, that it was “relatively easy” for immigrants in Argentina to become citizens (p. 106) is surely open to question. Her discussion of Argentine agrarian legislation passed under the first Yrigoyen government (1916–22) confuses appearance with substance, for these laws in fact contained gaping loopholes and were sporadically enforced at best.

Despite these reservations, the book is a commendable achievement and a major contribution to the scholarly literature on Argentina and Chile.

CARL E. SOLBERG
University of Washington

MAURICE ZEITLIN. *The Civil Wars in Chile (Or the Bourgeois Revolutions That Never Were)*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1984. Pp. xiii, 265. \$25.00.

Maurice Zeitlin's thesis—that the Chilean civil conflicts of the 1850s and 1891 were intrabourgeois struggles that failed to break the oligarchy's grip on the state and pave the way for the full development of capitalism—is not new; some of the methodology he employs and evidence he offers, however, is. The

publication of this work is timely, coinciding with the appearance of Lawrence and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone's *An Open Elite? England, 1540–1880* (1984), for Zeitlin gives us another variation on the theme of capitalistic development and “modernization” accompanied by the perdurance of a landed, commercial elite.

That Chile lacked in the nineteenth century what Marxists would call a “progressive national bourgeoisie” and non-Marxists would call an independent sector of manufacturers and merchants is an important, if not unique, aspect of Latin American socioeconomic and political evolution. The role that the Basque-Castilian aristocracy played in obstructing structural socioeconomic change, however, is unique and is critical to an understanding of contemporary Chile. Chilean “bourgeois democracy” is exposed again as an idealization, as something that existed, in the main, in the minds of observers and not a few scholars.

In his often repetitive narrative, Zeitlin refers to the selective Westernization of Japan during the Meiji era (1868–1912) and the rapid industrial and capitalist rise of the German empire during the Bismarckian period (1862–90), which, along with the example of England noted above, provide stimulating prospects for comparative study. In all cases change did occur, but not at the expense of tradition. Chile was not all that different.

This book contains a great deal of information—at times presented in the form of a review essay of secondary sources—that shows conclusively that the grand historical confrontations between the silver, coal, and copper interests and those of the landed, banking, and nitrate elite were indeed intrasectoral and not examples of class war, let alone revolution. In view of this, one wonders why Brian Loveman's *Chile: The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism* (1979) is not cited. All in all, we have here a finely focused view of the individuals, interest groups, and issues involved in civil wars that might have become revolutions. The case that true revolutions were ever in the making, though, is by no means clear. That Marxian versions of nineteenth-century Chile (twentieth-century, too, for that matter) are significantly flawed by no means indicates that their refining in retrospect increases their accuracy or applicability.

FREDERICK M. NUNN
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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the AHR office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed. Other similar volumes that are amenable to reviewing will be found in the review section.

JOAN KELLY. *Women, History, and Theory: The Essays of Joan Kelly*. (Women in Culture and Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1984. Pp. xxvi, 163. \$18.00.

CATHARINE R. STIMPSON, Foreword. BLANCHE W. COOK *et al.*, Introduction. JOAN KELLY, The Social Relation of the Sexes: Methodological Implications of Women's History. Did Women Have a Renaissance? The Doubled Vision of Feminist Theory. Early Feminist Theory and the *Querelle des Femmes*. Family and Society.

TERRENCE J. MCDONALD and SALLY K. WARD, editors. *The Politics of Urban Fiscal Policy*. (New Approaches to Social Science History, number 5.) Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, with the cooperation of the Social Science History Association. 1984. Pp. 176. \$25.00.

STANLEY L. ENGERMAN, Preface. TERRENCE J. MCDONALD and SALLY K. WARD, Introduction. TERRENCE J. MCDONALD, San Francisco: Socioeconomic Change, Political Culture, and Fiscal Politics, 1870–1906. M. CRAIG BROWN and CHARLES N. HALABY, Bosses, Reform, and the Socioeconomic Bases of Urban Expenditure, 1890–1940. DAVID MCDOWALL and COLIN LOFTLIN, Conflict, Crime, and Budgetary Constraint: Police Strength in Detroit, 1927–1976. ERIC H. MONKKONEN, The Politics of Municipal Indebtedness and Default, 1850–1936. JOHN MODELL, Afterword.

W. J. SHEILS, editor. *Persecution and Toleration*. (Studies in Church History, number 21; Twenty-Second Summer Meeting and the Twenty-Third Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society). Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell, for The Society. 1984. Pp. xv, 490. £ 25.00.

PETER GARNSEY, Religious Toleration in Classical Antiquity. ALVYN PETTERSEN, "To Flee or Not to Flee": An Assessment

of Athanasius's *De Fuga Sua*. R. I. MOORE, Popular Violence and Popular Heresy in Western Europe, ca. 1000–1179. JONATHAN RILEY-SMITH, The First Crusade and the Persecution of the Jews. JOHN MCLOUGHLIN, The Language of Persecution: John of Salisbury and the Early Phase of the Becket Dispute, 1163–66. JENNIFER BRAY, The Mohammedan and Idolatry. DIANA M. WEBB, The Possibility of Toleration: Marsiglio and the City States of Italy. DIANA WOOD, Infidels and Jews: Clement VI's Attitude to Persecution and Toleration. ROY M. HAINES, Reginald Pecock: A Tolerant Man in an Age of Intolerance. JOHN EDWARDS, Mission and Inquisition among *Conversos* and *Moriscos* in Spain, 1250–1550. M. N. SUTHERLAND, Persecution and Toleration in Reformation Europe. G. R. ELTON, Persecution and Toleration in the English Reformation. H. C. PORTER, Anglicans, Puritans, and American Indians: Persecution or Toleration? BLAIR WORDEN, Toleration and the Cromwellian Protectorate. ANTHONY FLETCHER, The Enforcement of the Conventicle Acts, 1664–1679. MARK GOLDIE, Sir Peter Pett, Scepticism, Toryism, and the Science of Toleration in the 1680s. D. SZECHI, The Politics of "Persecution": Scots Episcopalian Toleration and the Harley Ministry, 1710–12. D. G. THOMPSON, The Persecution of the French Jesuits by the Parlement of Paris, 1761–71. GERARD CONNOLLY, "No Law Would Be Granted Us": Institutional Protestantism and the Problem of Catholic Poverty in England, 1839–42. PATRICK IRWIN, Bishop Alexander and the Jews of Jerusalem. PETER DOYLE, Pope Pius IX and Religious Freedom. S. PETER KERR, Tolerant Bishops in an Intolerant Church: The Puseyite Threat in Ulster. JOHN ILIFFE, Persecution and Toleration in Pre-Colonial Africa: Nineteenth-Century Yorubaland. J. B. BRAIN, Toleration and Persecution in Colonial Natal. NORMAN STONE, The Religious Background to Max Weber. RICHARD E. RUGGLE, Intolerable Tolerance: The Canadian Bishops and the 1912 "Appeal on Behalf of Christian Unity." D. W. BEBBINGTON, The Persecution of George Jackson: A British Fundamentalist Controversy. OWEN CHADWICK, The Pope and the Jews in 1942. GAVIN WHITE, Religion and Social Control in the Soviet Union, 1945–1964.

THEDA SKOCPOL, editor. *Vision and Method in Historical Sociology*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1984. Pp. xiii, 410. Cloth \$39.50, paper \$13.95.

THEDA SKOCPOL, *Sociology's Historical Imagination*. DANIEL CHIROT, *The Social and Historical Landscape* of Marc Bloch. FRED BLOCK and MARGARET R. SOMERS, *Beyond the Economistic Fallacy: The Holistic Social Science of Karl Polanyi*. GARY C. HAMILTON, *Configurations in History: The Historical Sociology of S. N. Eisenstadt*. DIETRICH RUESCHEMEYER, *Theoretical Generalization and Historical Particularity in the Comparative Sociology of Reinhard Bendix*. MARY FULBROOK and THEDA SKOCPOL, *Destined Pathways: The Historical Sociology of Perry Anderson*. ELLEN KAY TRIMBERGER, E. P. Thompson: *Understanding the Process of History*. LYNN HUNT, *Charles Tilly's Collective Action*. CHARLES RAGIN and DANIEL CHIROT, *The World System of Immanuel Wallerstein: Sociology and Politics as History*. DENNIS SMITH, *Discovering Facts and Values: The Historical Sociology of Barrington Moore*. THEDA SKOCPOL, *Emerging Agendas and Recurrent Strategies in Historical Sociology*.

SOFIA BOESCH GAJANO and LUCIA SEBASTIANI, editors. *Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali in età preindustriale*. (Collana di Studi Storici, number 1.) Rome: L. U. Japadre. 1984. Pp. 995. L. 45,000.

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Documents and Bibliographies

The following collections of documents, bibliographies, and other similar works were received by the AHR between February 4 and April 21, 1985. Books that will be reviewed are not usually listed, but listing does not necessarily preclude subsequent review.

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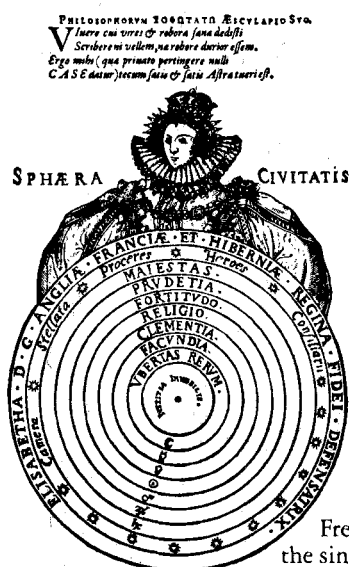
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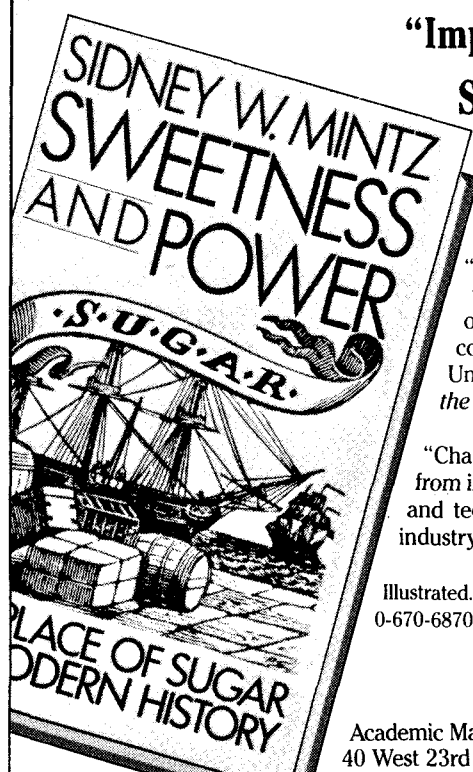
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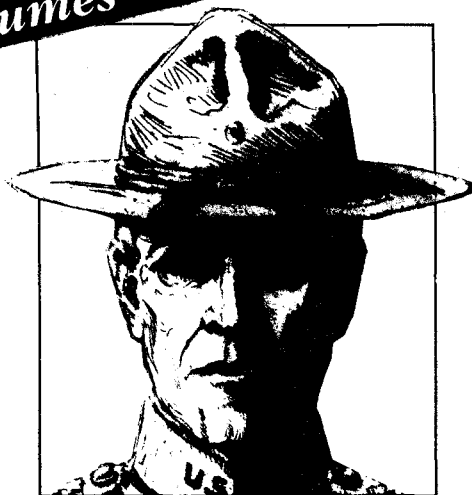


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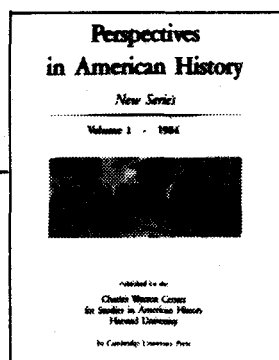
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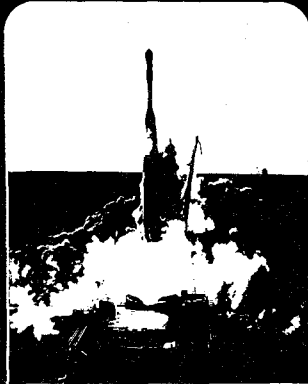
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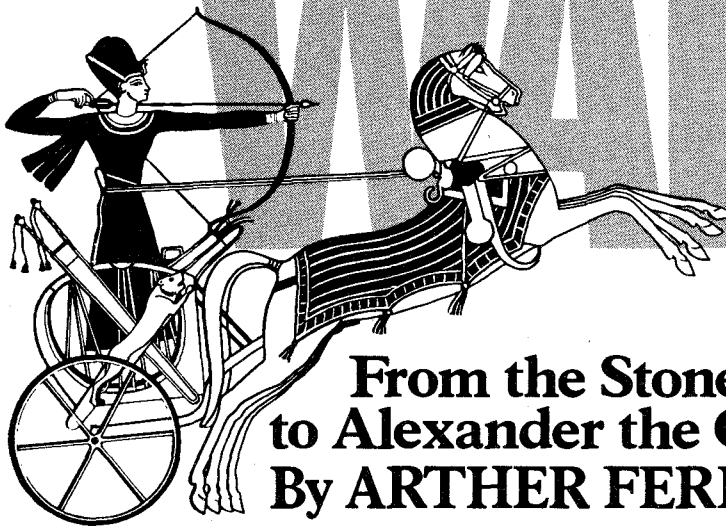
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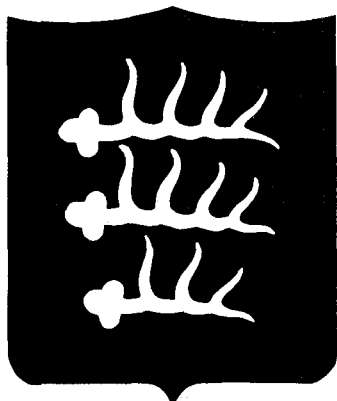
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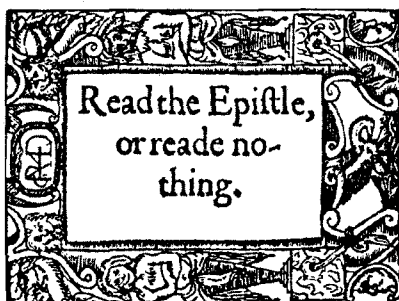
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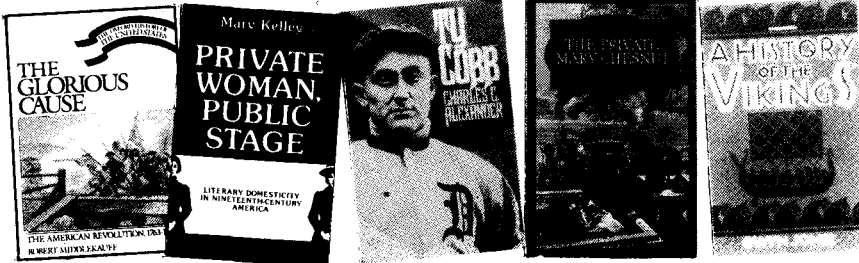
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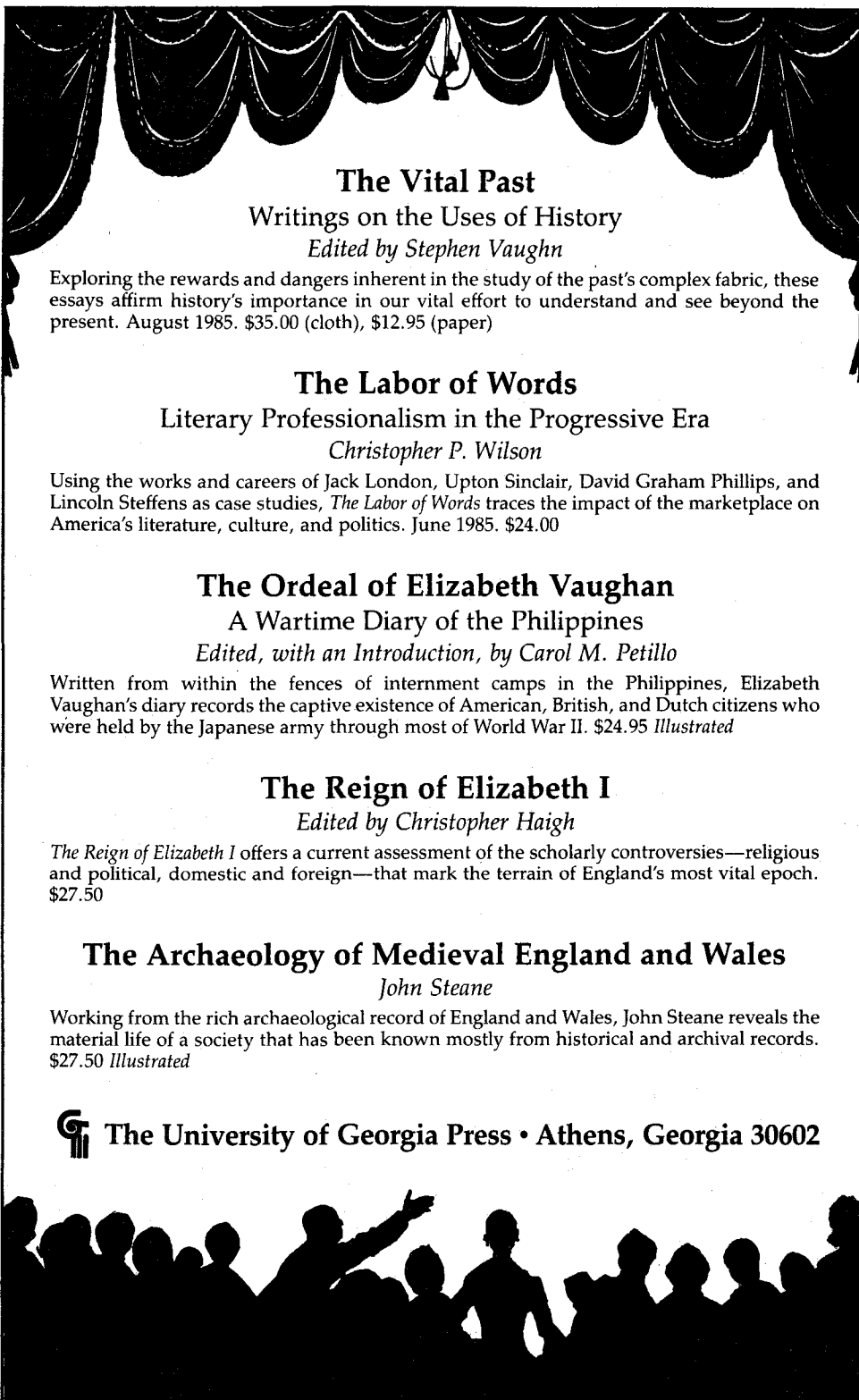
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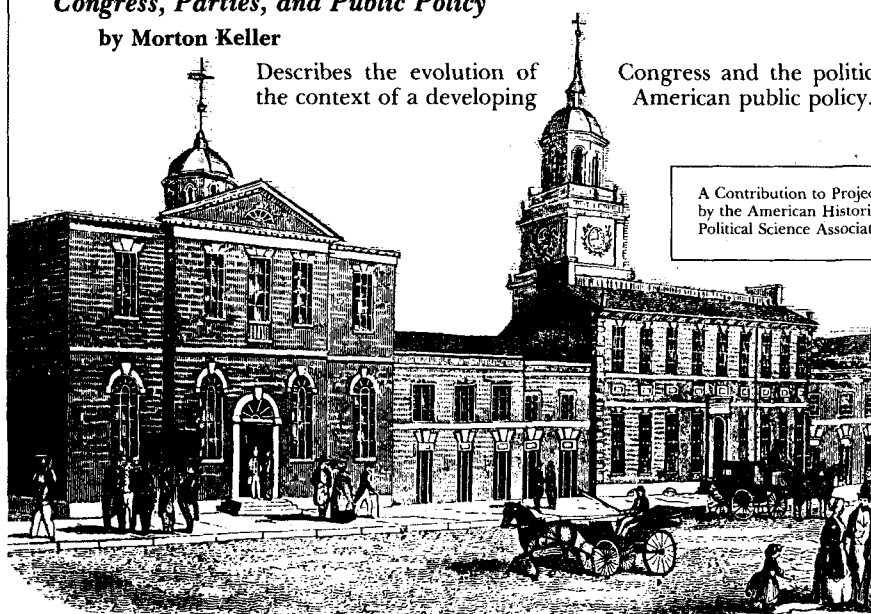
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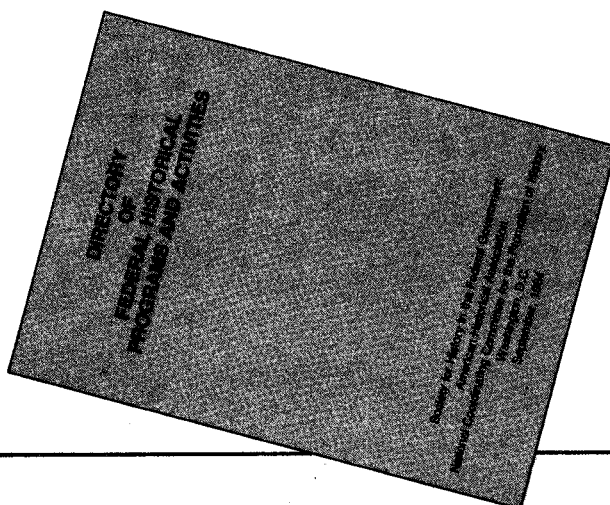
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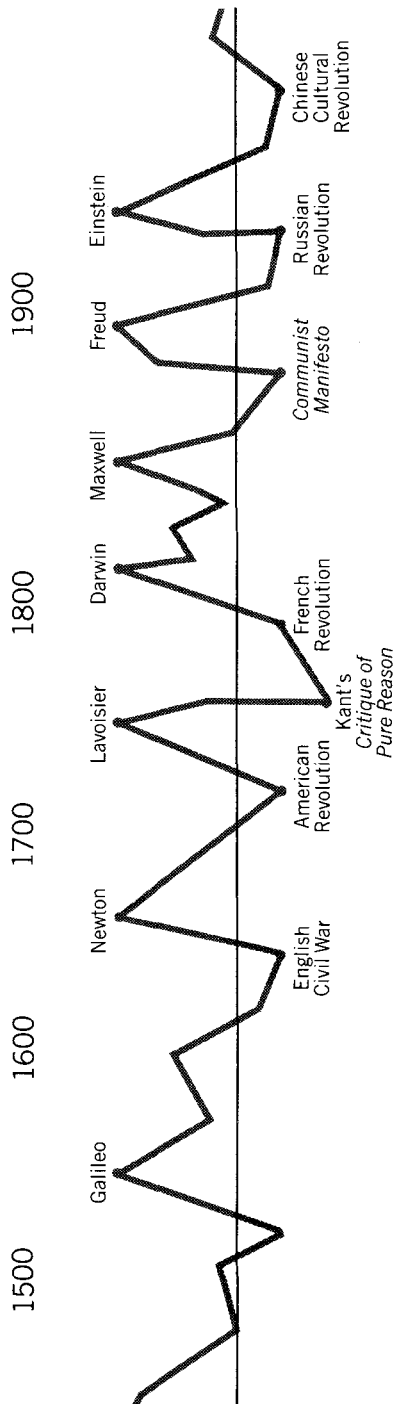
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